Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation

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Kingship and empire in the Carolingian world

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The Carolingian period saw the consolidation of ideas about rulership which had been taking shape in the early medieval west since Christian Late Antiquity.[1] In the eighth century, significant Spanish and Insular contributions were incorporated into the mainstream of western political thought,[2] and in the ninth and tenth centuries that mainstream in turn irrigated new political formations in northern and central Europe. Between the eighth century and the tenth, an expanding Latin Christendom was dominated first by the Frankish Empire, then by states that succeeded to or were profoundly influenced by it. The creation of the Frankish Empire strengthened in the short run the traditional elements in barbarian kingship, successful leadership of the people (*gens*) in wars of conquest and plunder bringing Frankish domination of other *gentes*. Hence the hegemonial idea of empire, of the emperor ruling many peoples and realms, arose directly from the political experience of the eighth-century west. In the longer run power devolved to kingdoms that proved durable, without a gentile identity or an economic base in plunder and tribute. This brought new formulations of the realm as a territorial and sociological entity, the aristocracy sharing power and responsibility with the king. The idea of empire detached from its gentile anchorage acquired Roman-Christian universality.

In the eighth century the Frankish kings Pippin and Charlemagne successfully mobilised two elites, the higher clergy of the Frankish Church and the Frankish aristocracy. Power-sharing was built into the fabric of the Carolingian Empire though it was masked at first by a community of interest that evoked a chorus of praise for rulers evidently possessed of divine approval. Second thoughts were voiced in the ninth century when the stabilising of internal and external frontiers engendered fiercer competition for power within kingdoms. Some churchmen

[1] See select bibliography at the end of this chapter.

[2] Contributions from Spain and the British Isles: H. H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 32 (Bonn, 1968) pp. 55–74, 103–7; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984), chapters 1 and 8, illuminate kingship in this period.

now clarified and qualified the terms of their support for kings and emperors, while aristocratic groupings formed by and around royal regimes recalled ideas of rights and of consent which could justify restraints on, and even resistance to, royal power.

In the latter part of the period, more intensive economic exploitation made possible new concentrations of resources in the hands of magnates, lay and clerical, and also of kings. So closely were church resources enmeshed in the structure of kingdoms that few ecclesiastics, especially if they sought reform, could part company with kings for long, though clerical protests were sometimes lodged against royal oppression. But it was the reaction of lay aristocrats against 'tyranny' that stimulated the clearer, more widespread articulation of ideas of collective resistance and of representation of political communities. The Carolingian period is therefore doubly crucial: in the legitimisation of kingship and empire, and in the working-out of critiques of power. Theocracy thrived: but so did the seeds of constitutionalism.

The relationship of ideas to reality is a general problem in the history of political thought. Peculiar to the earlier Middle Ages, however, is the difficulty with so much of the material of answering such basic questions as: who wrote it and for what audience? Is it a public work in the sense of expressing the 'official line' of the regime? Or is it a private work revealing the opinions of an individual or coterie? To take an example: the Donation of Constantine is an eighth-century forgery that purports to convey the transfer of imperial power and privileges to the pope and his entourage. Assessment of its significance in terms of its contemporary impact depends on whether it is identified as a papal document produced in 753 to justify Pope Stephen II's summoning of the Franks into Italy to protect the lands of St Peter, in disregard of Byzantine claims to authority,[3] or alternatively as a 'literary divertissement' produced in the late 750s or 760s by a Lateran cleric[4] to elevate Rome at the expense of Ravenna. Further, the circumstances of its production, whatever these were, have to be distinguished from the motives of the Frankish clergy who in the ninth century incorporated the text into a collection of canons designed to buttress ecclesiastical property-rights. Ideological content may vary with context. The fact that medieval writers, often with polemical purpose, used and re-used 'authorities' like the Donation with blithe unconsciousness of anachronism makes it especially important – and difficult – for modern historians to avoid this pitfall. Finally there is the problem of assessing how far a writer's view or concept was shared by his or her contemporaries. For instance, Agobard of Lyons' suggestion that the emperor Louis the Pious should impose one law on all the peoples of

3 W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London, 1962), pp. 58–61, 74–86.

4 P. Ourliac, 'Review of Fuhrmann 1972–4', *Francia* 8 (1980) p. 790. See also below, pp. 69–70.

his empire is interesting but quite unrepresentative[5] (as well as impractical!). It has seemed best in a general survey to concentrate mainly on texts that have a normative character or seem to present some fairly widely held viewpoint for their period. But it has to be admitted that sheer scarcity of evidence sometimes makes representativeness hard to gauge.

Carolingian kingship

In tracing the development of ideas about kingship, 750 is a more defensible starting point than most periodisations of history. In that year envoys were sent from Francia to Pope Zacharias to ask him whether or not it was good that there should be kings in Francia at that time who lacked royal power. Pope Zacharias told Pippin that it would be better to call king the man who had power than the man who was still there without royal power. So that order might not be disturbed, he ordered through apostolic authority that Pippin be made king.

Thus the Royal Frankish Annals produced at the court of Pippin's son Charlemagne some forty years after these events.[6] A strictly contemporary writer, commissioned by Pippin's own uncle, simply notes that 'an embassy was sent to the apostolic see' and that 'on receipt of the pope's official reply', Pippin 'by the election of all the Franks to the throne of the kingdom, by the consecration of bishops and by the subjection of the lay magnates, together with the queen Bertrada, as the rules of ancient tradition require was elevated into the kingdom'.[7] Whatever form previous royal inaugurations had taken, the novelty here was certainly the 'consecration', the anointing of Pippin by bishops – a novelty which it is obviously tempting to link with the pope's 'reply'.[8] Fritz Kern, probably the most influential of modern commentators on medieval political thought, did make this link, and drew far-reaching conclusions from these events. Hitherto, he inferred, the Franks' 'primitive beliefs', their 'superstitious aversion ... from parting with a phantom-like dynasty', had permitted Merovingian kings without power to succeed one another for over a century. The appeal to the pope in 750 meant the replacement of Germanic kin-right by 'Christian principles', of supernatural sanctification drawn from 'old pagan mythical roots' by an equally supernatural but Christian sanctification. Pippin's anointing, for Kern, signified a 'great revolution'.[9] For Henri Pirenne, it signalled the transition from the late-antique to the medieval world, from a still

[5] J. L. Nelson, 'On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977) p. 63. For the general problem of ideas and contexts: N. Staubach, 'Germanisches Königtum und lateinische Literatur', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983) pp. 7–8.

[6] *Annales regni francorum* s.a. 749, ed. Rau, *Quellen* I, p. 8.

[7] Continuator of Fredegar, c. 33. ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar and its Continuations* (London, 1960) p. 102.

[8] J. Jarnut, 'Wer hat Pippin 751 zum König gesalbt?', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982), pp. 54–7.

[9] F. Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 20–2, 25, 66–7. The quotations in the text are from the translation by Chrimes 1939, pp. 13, 16, 21, 35.

basically secular Merovingian kingship to the ecclesiastically conditioned rule of Carolingians 'by the grace of God'.[10]

There is too much evidence of the Christianisation of Merovingian kingship and of the Frankish aristocracy in the seventh and early eighth centuries[11] for Kern's 'revolution' to carry conviction. What is really striking about 750–1 is the coincidence of Frankish clerical interests with lay aristocratic interests and of both of those with the interests of the papacy. Pippin invoked papal approval 'with the consent of the Franks'. There was no question of alternative or competing types of legitimation when the pope approved what the Franks, with Pippin, had in fact already decided.[12] Pippin's installation as king demonstrated what dissension amongst the Franks had been obscuring for some time before 750: the gentile basis of Frankish kingship. Pippin's constituency was the *gens francorum*, already in the generation before 750 learning to see itself as a chosen people, a new Israel.[13] Its thought-world was shaped by the Old Testament Books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. The Children of Israel had had a special relationship with the Almighty, who had promised them that their kings, when they got them, would be chosen by Him 'out of the number of your brothers' (Deuteronomy 17:15). Only in the light of this identification with Israel was it apposite for Frankish priests to be anointed like Aaron (as they were already some decades before 750) or for a Frankish king to be anointed as Samuel anointed David.[14] The religious legitimation of Pippin depended on a prior and equally religious legitimation of the Franks. This theme, rather than their own individual consecrations, was what Pippin and Charlemagne sought to cultivate and to play on in the years after 750. Pippin's reissue of *Lex Salica*, the law of the *gens*, was accompanied by a paean of praise to the God-beloved Franks.[15] The Royal Frankish Annals report the victories not of Charlemagne alone but of 'the Franks, with God's help',[16] and the oaths of the conquered Saxons 'to maintain Christianity and faithfulness to King Charles and his sons and the Franks'.[17] Liturgical acclamations for Charlemagne and his family, the *Laudes regiae*, also have invocations for 'all the judges and the whole army of the Franks'.[18]

The new intimacy of this linking of the Franks with their ruling dynasty emerges equally clearly from the papal correspondence of the period. In a letter of 747 to Pippin, Mayor of the Palace, and 'all the magnates (*principes*) in the

10 H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London, 1939) pp. 265–74.

11 E. Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Königsgedanken im Frühmittelalter', in: *Das Königtum*, Vorträge und Forschungen 3 (Sigmaringen, 1956) pp. 7–73; P. Riché, 'L'Enseignement et la culture des laïcs dans l'Occident pré-carolingien', *Settimane* 19 (Spoleto, 1972), pp. 231–53.

12 W. Affeldt, 'Untersuchungen zur Königserhebung Pippins', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980) pp. 95–187.

13 Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Königsgedanken', pp. 42–5.

14 J. L. Nelson, 'Inauguration rituals', in: *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), pp. 50–71 at pp. 56–8.

15 *Lex Salica*, 100-Titel Text, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, MGH Leges nat. germ. IV.ii (Hanover, 1969), pp. 6–8.

16 *Annales regni francorum* s.a. 773, 776, 783.

17 *Ibid.*, s.a. 777.

18 E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History 33, 2nd edn (Berkeley, 1958) pp. 15, 43.

region of the Franks', Pope Zacharias acknowledged that in Francia, as in contemporary Rome, a warrior aristocracy held the key to the Church's well-being.[19] The form of Zacharias' response in 751 may have been influenced by Augustinian notions of cosmic order,[20] but its substance was a shrewd assessment of the realities of power in Francia and their relevance to papal interests. Zacharias' successor Stephen II invoked 'the utility of your patron St Peter' when he appealed to all the chiefs (*duces*) of the Frankish *gens* to help King Pippin.[21] This papal utilitarianism meant the mobilising not only of Frankish kingship but also of Frankish consent. When the needs of St Peter – that is, the need to defend claims to territory in central Italy – drove Stephen II to cross the Alps in winter to seek Frankish aid, he forged links not only (through a new consecration) between himself and Pippin and his sons, but between St Peter and the Frankish aristocracy. To them as well as to the royal family, 'St Peter' appealed as his 'adoptive sons'. Just as God called the Israelites 'his peculiar people', so Stephen's successor Paul I (757–67) enrolled the Franks as 'St Peter's peculiar people', calling them, in words St Peter himself was believed to have used for the Christian community, 'a holy tribe, a royal priesthood'.[22]

Less dominant in papal appeals, but no less resonant in Frankish ears, were the notes of lordship and patronage. Paul I reminded Pippin of 'the faithful kings [of Israel] who in days of old pleased God'.[23] Pippin too was cast as a faithful king who would please his patron St Peter. Faithfulness for the Franks immediately evoked the service of youth (*puer, vassus*) to the old man (*senior*), a service first and foremost military. Physical power was the prime qualification for those who served. Again, Frankish and papal views coincided. Annals written *ca* 805 to glorify the Carolingians castigated the fecklessness (*desidia*) of the Merovingians and praised the toughness and stamina (*strenuitas*) of the new leaders under whom the Franks had re-established their power over other peoples.[24] In the 830s Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, drew a dramatic (and perhaps ironic) contrast between the symbolic senescence of the last Merovingian and the youthful vitality of Charles Martel and Pippin.[25] Also *ca* 830 a historian of the Franks imagined a conversation at the Frankish court between the last

[19] *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epp. III (Hanover, 1892) no. 3, p. 480.

[20] H. Büttner, 'An den Anfangen des abendländischen Staatsgedankens: die Königserhebung Pippins' in: *Das Königtum*, Vorträge und Forschungen 3 (Sigmaringen, 1956), pp. 155–67 at pp. 160–1.

[21] *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epp. III (Hanover, 1892), no. 5, p. 488: 'utilitas fautoris vestri, beati apostolorum principis Petri'.

[22] *Ibid.*, nos. 10, p. 501 and 39, p. 552. See A. Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bundnis der Päpste mit den Karolingern', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100 (1980) pp. 40–63, idem, '*Rex et sacerdos*. Zur Genese der Königssalbung', in *Tradition als historische Kraft*, ed. N. Kamp and J. Wollasch (Berlin, 1982), pp. 109–10. Historical context: T. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984) chapters 2 and 3.

[23] *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epp. III (Hanover, 1892), no. 42, p. 555.

[24] The so-called *Annales Mettenses*: I. Haselbach, *Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karlinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annales Mettenses Priores*, Historische Studien 412 (Hamburg, 1970), pp. 171–2, 178–9.

[25] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. i.u.s. 25 (Hanover, 1911), trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1969) p. 3: the Merovingian had only the *inane regis vocabulum*, Charles Martel and Pippin had *et opes et potentia regni*.

Merovingian and Pope Stephen II (sic!) in which the king explained his inability to give military help: '"Don't you see, Father, that I lack both the power and the dignity of a king?" The pope agreed ... and turning to Prince Pippin said: "On St Peter's authority I order you to tonsure this man and send him into a monastery. How can he hold a land? He is useful neither to himself nor to others!"' In context, this is clearly a usefulness gauged in terms of benefits to king, Franks and St Peter alike.[26]

Though they were aware that past societies, including ancient Israel and until recently the Saxons, had managed with the rule of judges or nobles,[27] Carolingian writers of contemporary history saw kingship as the basic political form in their own world. Christianity was no necessary qualification. The emir of Cordoba was a king, so were the Muslim ruler of Barcelona and the Bulgar khan.[28] Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims in a learned treatise distinguished between kings and tyrants, between legitimate and illegitimate ways of assuming power, between rulers directly instituted by God to promote justice and 'usurpers' permitted by God to punish sin – while insisting, with St Paul, that all power was divinely authorised and hence to be obeyed.[29] Wearing another hat, as annalist, Hincmar recognised that the sustained support of a sizeable faction of the aristocracy in a particular region was what in fact made a king, both in the sense of installing him and of supplying him with the means to rule.[30] Other annalists reflect a similar contemporary pragmatism. When two rivals for the kingship of the Wilzi brought their case before a Frankish assembly, Louis the Pious had no difficulty in recognising as king the man favoured by the 'will of the people' (*voluntas gentis*), that is, with greater support among the leading men of the Wilzi.[31] Horic 'king of the Danes' was the man to whom Carolingian kings could appeal to make a wayward Danish warlord (*dux*) disgorge what he had plundered from the Franks.[32] When the *Colodici* were beaten by the Franks and their king killed, another king had to be 'hurriedly made' so that the Franks could take from him 'oaths, hostages and much of their land'.[33]

A royal blessing-prayer, *Prospice* ('Look down'), provides an epitome of Frankish expectations of their king in the time of Charlemagne when the prayer was used, and probably composed.[34] It also sets out ideas of kingship which

26 'Reversusque ad principem Pipinum aiebat: "Ex auctoritate Sancti Petri tibi praecipio: tonde hunc et destina in monasterium; ut quid terram occupat? nec sibi nec aliis utilis est".' See E. Peters, *The Shadow King. Rex Inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 751–1327* (New Haven, 1970) pp. 53–4.

27 *Vita Lebuini antiqua*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS XXX. ii (Hanover, 1934), cc. 4–6, pp. 793–4.

28 *Annales Bertiniani* ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1964) and F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet, (Paris, 1964)' Eng. trans. J. L. Nelson, *The Annals of St Bertin* (Manchester 1991) s.a. 847, p. 53; Ermold, *In honorem Hludowici*, line 638, p. 50; *Annales Bertiniani* trans. Nelson *Annals* s.a. 866, p. 133.

29 Hincmar of Rheims, *De divortio Lotharii regis et Tetbergae reginae*, PL 125: 619–772, col. 758, and *De regis persona* cols. 834–6. See Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 295–7.

30 *Annales Bertiniani*, trans. Nelson, *Annals*, s.a. 873, pp. 189–90.

31 *Annales regni francorum*, Eng. trans. B. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, 1970), s.a. 823, p. 160.

32 *Annales Bertiniani*, trans. Nelson, *Annals*, s.a. 847, pp. 54–5. Compare *MGH Cap.* II, no. 204, p. 70.

33 *Annales Bertiniani*, trans. Nelson *Annals*, s.a. 839, p. 35.

34 C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning. The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Djakarta and Groningen, 1957), pp. 7, 40, 90–4; E. Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Königsgedanken, p. 45.

were to remain standard throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, for the prayer was incorporated into the rite of royal consecration early in the Carolingian period and thence passed into general use in the kingdoms of the Latin west.[35]

> Look down, Omnipotent God, with serene eyes on this most glorious king. As Thou didst bless Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, so deign to irrigate and bathe him by Thy potency with abundant blessings of spiritual grace with all its fullness. Grant him from the dew of heaven and the fatness of earth abundance of corn, wine and oil and a wealth of all fruits from the generous store of divine gifts, through long years; so that, while he is reigning, there may be healthiness of bodies in the fatherland, and peace may be unbroken in the realm, and the glorious dignity of the royal palace may shine before the eyes of all with the greatest splendour of royal power and be seen to be glittering and bright as if filled with the utmost splendour by the greatest light.
>
> Grant him Omnipotent God, to be a most mighty protector of the fatherland, and a comforter of churches and holy monasteries with the greatest piety of royal munificence, and to be the mightiest of kings, triumphing over his enemies so as to crush rebels and heathen nations; and may he be very terrible to his enemies with the utmost strength of royal potency.
>
> Also may he be generous and loveable and pious to the magnates and the outstanding leaders and the faithful men of his realm, that he may be feared and loved by all.
>
> Also may kings come forth from his loins through successions of future times to rule this whole realm. And after glorious and happy times in this present life, may he be worthy to have eternal joys in perpetual blessedness.[36]

The repeated use of the terms *potentia* and *potestas* here shows that the invocation of divine omnipotence to sustain royal potency is no mere liturgical cliché but conveys the central political idea of the Carolingian period: power came from God. The king acted as his deputy in securing justice and peace for the Christian people. Authors of 'Mirrors of princes', treatises of royal instruc-

[35] E. S. Dewick, ed., *The Coronation Book of Charles V of France*, Henry Bradshaw Society 16 (London, 1899), cols. 23–4; Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*, pp. 90, 107–8. *Prospice* was also included in imperial consecration-rites from the middle of the tenth century: below p. 79.

[36] 'Prospice omnipotens deus hunc gloriosissimum regem serenis obtutibus, sicut benedixisti Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, sic illum largis benedictionibus spiritalis gratiae cum omni plenitudine potentia irrigare atque perfundere dignare. Tribue ei de rore caeli et de pinguedine terrae abundantiam frumenti, vini et olei et omnium frugum opulentia ex largitate muneris divini longa per tempora, ut illo regnante sit sanitas corporum in patria et pax inviolata sit in regno, et dignitas gloriosa regalis palatii maximae splendore regiae potestatis oculis omnium fulgeat luce clarissima coruscare atque splendere quasi splendissima fulgora maximo perfusa lumine videantur. Tribue ei, omnipotens deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriae et consolator ecclesiarum atque coenobiorum sanctorum maxima cum pietate regalis munificentiae, atque et sit fortissimus regum, triumphator hostium ad opprimendum rebelles et paganas nationes, sitque inimicis suis satis terribilis proxima fortitudine regalis potentiae. Optimatibus quoque atque praecelsis proceribusque ac fidelibus sui regni sit munificus et amabilis et pius, et ab omnibus timeatur atque diligatur. Reges quoque de lumbis eius per successiones temporum futurorum egrediantur hoc regnum regere totum. Et post gloriosa tempora atque felicia praesentis vitae, gaudia sempiterna in perpetua beatitudine habere mereatur.' Compare Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*, p. 91. The Old Testament references are to Gen. 27:28 and Ps. 4:8.

tion, concentrated not on the gap between incumbent and office, between merely human ruler and God, but on the bridging of that gap through divine grace. Few scriptural tags were oftener quoted than Proverbs 21:1 – 'The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord.'[37] *Prospice* stressed the effects of divine action confidently asserted to ensue – the outpouring of blessings – rather than priestly mediation. Just as God had acted through the patriarchs to give Israel food, health and peace, so he would act through the consecrated king of the Franks. Other regal benedictions invoke a series of Old Testament judges and kings renowned for their success in war and wisdom in judgement. David and Solomon were favourite models in 'Mirrors of princes'.[38]

The Frankish realm can be classed in Weber's sense as a patrimonial regime in which power legitimised as divinely ordained was exercised as the ruler's personal authority like a father's over his household.[39] The Frankish kingdom was a family concern, in which royal kin had a special stake.[40] They resided with the king, his wife and children in a palace that was also home and school for young aristocrats, a great household which regularly expanded when assemblies gathered there, to embrace the political realm as it were in a single huge family. Frankish writers, all too aware of the tensions in close kinship, were especially attracted by the image of the court as a place of peace where 'all dissensions and discords were to be suppressed'.[41] *Prospice* highlights the splendour of the palace – a sacred space likened by poets to Solomon's Temple and seen as prefiguring the heavenly Jerusalem.[42] One Carolingian court poet, Ermold, described an Easter Day procession at the palace:

> Each in his rank hastens to obey the royal commands.
> One man runs, another stays: one goes this way, another that ...
> Preceded by the elders, followed by the younger men,
> With magnates surrounding you, you come, revered king.
> ... As the sun illuminates the earth with his rays ...

37 Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 357–62. Compare Pippin's diploma of 762, MGH, Dip. Kar. I, no. 16, p. 22: 'divina nobis providentia in solium regni unxisse manifestum est ... et ... reges ex Deo regnant nobisque gentes et regna pro sua misericordia ad gubernandum commisit'. See H. Fichtenau, *Arenga*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erganzungsband 18 (Cologne and Vienna, 1957) p. 143.

38 J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The *Via Regia* of the Carolingian age', in: *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. B. Smalley (Oxford, 1965); Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 419–36; Regal benedictions: Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*, pp. 191–2.

39 M. Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, ed. G. Roth, and C. Wittich, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1978) vol. I, pp. 231–41, vol. II, pp. 1006–110. See also J. Fried, 'Der karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jh. zwischen "Kirche" und "Königshaus"', *Historische Zeitschrift* 2345 (1982) pp. 18–27.

40 See J. L. Nelson 'Public "Histories" and private history in the work of Nithard', *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 251–93 at pp. 269–71.

41 Council of Paris (829), c. 91, MGH Conc. II, p. 678: 'Ubi igitur omnes dissensiones et discordiae dirimendae et omnis malitia imperiali auctoritate est comprimenda, necesse est ut quod in aliis corrigere decernit, in ea [i.e. sacra domu] minime reperitur.' Peace as cosmic order: R. Bonnaud-Delamare, *L'Idée de paix à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1939). *Familiaritas* at assemblies: J. L. Nelson, 'Legislation and consensus in the reign of Charles the Bald', in: *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford, 1983) pp. 202–28 at p. 220.

42 P. Riché, 'Les Représentations du palais dans les textes littéraires du haut moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976) pp. 161–71 at pp. 167–9.

Signalling joy to trees, crops, sailors,
So the king in his coming brings joy to his people.[43]

Royal biographers chose to locate their heroes in the setting of the household, where arrangements for the hunt or the dining-table symbolised their authority.[44] It was thought essential that the ruler maintain right relations within the royal family itself. The divine injunction in Deuteronomy 14:17, 'Let [the king] not have more than one wife', quoted by learned churchmen to Charlemagne and Louis the Pious,[45] had special relevance when all politics were 'palace, even family politics',[46] and the ambitions of successive royal wives and their offspring could throw kingdoms into confusion. Archbishop Agobard of Lyons justified the rebellion of his patron Lothar against his father the emperor by invoking his duty to restore and purify the palace that evildoers had made a brothel.[47] The programme of rectification (*correctio*) proposed by ecclesiastical reformers and eagerly taken up by Charlemagne and his successors was in effect a transposition to the realm as a whole of the ruler's personal and domestic good order. It was the more necessary for Lothar II, whose domestic affairs were notoriously *dis*ordered, to be advised that a good king did the job of ruling (*regendi ministerium*) in three ways: 'by ruling first himself, second his own wife and children and the members of his household, third the people committed to him'.[48]

Carolingian clerical theorists used the Church as a model of an ordered society: in this sense the realm, and the king's job, were contained within the Church.[49] But in terms of practical politics, the Church was part of the realm, and the king's obligation to safeguard it an essential part of his patrimonial role. The clergy and monks, unarmed, were like widows and orphans in need of protection.[50] The Carolingians involved the resources and personnel of the Church much more closely in their regime than any previous medieval rulers had done.[51] The author of *Prospice* observed the rewards of 'royal munificence'.

[43] Ermold, *Carmen in honorem Pippini regis*, in E. Faral (ed.), *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris, 1932), I, lines 18–32, p. 204.

[44] Ermold, *In honorem Hludowici*, in E. Faral (ed.), *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris, 1932), lines 2338–503, pp. 178–90; Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli*, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SS rer. germ. n.s. 13, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1959), I, c. II, p. 16, c. 30, p. 41, II, c. 6, pp. 54–7, c. 8, pp. 59–61.

[45] Cathwulf, MGH Epp. IV, p. 503; Council of Paris (829), c. 55, MGH Conc. II, p. 649.

[46] P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers. The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1983), chapter 4.

[47] Agobard, of Lyons, *Opera*, PL 104: 29–251. *Libri duo pro filiis et contra Iudith uxorem Ludovici Pii*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS XV, pp. 274–9 at p. 275.

[48] Sedulius Scottus, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ed. S. Hellmann, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters I, 1 (Munich, 1906), c. 5, p. 34: 'primo se ipsum ... secundo uxorem propriam et liberos suosque domesticos, tertio populum sibi commissum'.

[49] Fried, 'Karolingische Herrschaftsverband', and compare pp. 66–7 below.

[50] See J. Devisse, *Hincmar, Archévêque de Reims 845–882*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975–6) I, pp. 500–2; G. Duby, *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978) p. 224.

[51] F. L. Ganshof, 'L'Église et le pouvoir royal dans la monarchie franque sous Pépin III et Charlemagne', *Settimane* 7 (Spoleto, 1960); Eng. trans. F. L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (London, 1971) chapter 11; F. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Stuttgart, 1971).

But the king believed his power to depend on the Church's preservation of the Faith.[52] When the papacy itself seemed to waver in its response to the Byzantine court's excessive veneration of icons, Charlemagne had his leading theologian Theodulf in the *Libri Carolini* remind the pope of the orthodoxy for which Rome stood. Justifying his implied rebuke, Charlemagne told the pope that the Church had been 'committed for us for ruling'.[53] In 747 Pope Zacharias had set out in a letter to the Franks and their leader a division of labour between those who fought and the clergy who prayed for their victory.[54] In 796, Alcuin on Charlemagne's behalf quoted this back at Pope Leo III: 'Our job is the defence of the Church and the fortification of the Faith; yours to aid our warfare by prayer.'[55] But the Church owed more than prayer alone. In bracketing royal 'comfort of churches and monasteries' with royal triumph over rebels and heathens, *Prospice* hinted at the military service owed, and faithfully performed by the Church to the Carolingians.[56]

The model of Christian rulership elaborated in 'Mirrors of princes' was projected mainly for kings themselves. But the evangelising Carolingian Church aimed at the minds (as well as the souls) of the laity at large. It preached lordship, using the same language for political and religious obligation. 'Faith' (*fides*) meant both Christian belief and the bond between lord and man.[57] The Book of Psalms, the textbook of Carolingian spirituality, could be read as a manifesto of divine Lordship. Christ was presented as lord of a warrior-retinue.[58] Fidelity in political contexts acquired strong Christian overtones. In addressing his documents, Pippin identified his own faithful men with God's: *fideles dei et regis*.[59] Charlemagne hammered the point home when he imposed faithfulness in both kinds on the conquered Saxons.[60] In the middle of the ninth century the Frankish noblewoman Dhuoda urged both on her son as he joined the king's military retinue.[61]

The great household as an image of order and purity, and the ordered hierarchy of personal service within it, were political ideas that corresponded to

52 A. Waas, 'Karls des Grossen Frommigkeit', *Historische Zeitschrift* 203 (1966) pp. 265–79.

53 MGH Conc. II, Supplement, p. 2: 'nobis [i.e. Charlemagne, using the royal 'we'] quibus in huius saeculi procellosis fluctibus [ecclesia] ad regendum commissa est'. See J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 219–22.

54 See n. 19 above.

55 *Codex Carolinus*. Ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epp. III (Hanover, 1892), no. 93, pp. 137–8: 'Nostrum est secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire. Vestrum est, sanctissime pater, elevatis ad Deum cum Moyse manibus nostram adiuvare militiam, quatenus vobis intercedentibus ... populus christianus super inimicos ... semper habeat victoriam.'

56 J. L. Nelson, 'The Church's military service in the ninth century: a contemporary comparative view?', in: *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History 20 (1983) pp. 15–30.

57 F. Graus, The stress of W. Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1963) pp. 296–334, on the Germanic background is compatible with Graus' insistence on the ideological role of the Carolingian Church. Compare D. Green, *The Carolingian Lord* (Cambridge, 1965) pp. 216–32.

58 See below pp. 74–5 and n.131.

59 H. Helbig, 'Fideles Dei et regis', *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1951) pp. 275–306.

60 MGH Cap. I, no. 26, pp. 68–70.

61 Dhuoda, ed. P. Riché, *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* (Paris, 1975) III, cc. 4, 5, pp. 148–59.

social realities and were constantly reinforced by experience. Peasants who journeyed to palaces to seek royal protection against lordly violence[62] perceived the king as a mighty overlord who could uphold the free status of the humble. Enthroned, flanked by his counsellors and warrior-retinue, in a hall adorned with depictions of his ancestors' achievements, the Carolingian ruler was a commanding yet approachable figure.[63] The members of the aristocracy who sustained his regime were in regular contact with the court. Dhuoda, familiar with both palace and noble household, saw parallels between them. Much could be learned, she told her son as he went off to the palace, from the discussions that go on 'in a big house such as that one'. 'When you are grown up, organise your own household in lawful ranks and effectively. And [meanwhile] ... carry out all your tasks in public affairs in due order, and faithfully.'[64] Faithfulness, which bound the faithful man to his lord, provided Dhuoda with a model for the relationship of wife to husband, of child to father – and of those who served to the king.[65]

When the author of *Prospice* mentioned royal 'piety', in precisely this context, he had in mind a political as well as a moral virtue, manifested, with 'generosity' and 'lovableness', in the distribution of wealth and the delegation of power over men. This piety was the return for faithful service.[66] Charlemagne, like his Merovingian predecessors, wanted all the men in his realm to swear fidelity to him. In 802 he added to the oath the phrase: '[faithful] as a man ought in right (*per drictum*) to be faithful to his lord'.[67] This heralded no constitutional change, no shift (as sometimes alleged) from 'sovereignty' to 'contractual' authority, no watering-down of 'subjects' obligations'.[68] Classical, or modern, legal categories imposed on the early Middle Ages can mislead. The relationship between Frankish king and aristocracy had been based all along on mutual, personal, service and mutual advantage: there was no break here with Merovingian tradition. With the words 'in right', Charlemagne signalled faithfulness as deep-rooted in contemporaries' values.[69] He invoked it, not through conceptual

[62] G. Tessier, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, 3 vols.* (Paris, 1943–55), ii, no. 228, pp. 7–9. Compare C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (London, 1982) pp. 109–12.

[63] Ermold, *In honorem Hludowici*, in E. Faral (ed.) *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris, 1932), lines 2148–63, p. 164, describes the *gesta paterna* depicted at Ingelheim. It is uncertain how far reality was designed to correspond to manuscript-image, and how far genre-bound image reflected contemporary (as distinct from late-antique) ideology: D. Bullough, '*Imagines Regum* and their significance in the early medieval west', in: *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. Giles Robertson and George Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975) pp. 252–3.

[64] Dhuoda, ed. Riché, III, c. 9, p. 170; x, c. 3, pp. 346–8.

[65] J. Wollasch, 'Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39 (1959) pp. 150–88.

[66] R. Schieffer, 'Ludwig "der Fromme". Zur Entstehung eines Karlingischen Herrscherbeinamens', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982) pp. 58–73. See also I. Haselbach, *Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karlinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annales Mettenses Priores*, Historische Studien 412 (Hamburg, 1970) pp. 153–8.

[67] MGH Cap. I, no. 34, p. 101: 'sicut per drictum debet esse homo domino suo'.

[68] H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols., 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1928), vol. II, p. 82; F. L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (London, 1971) pp. 117–18. Useful on historiography but over-legalistic on oath-formulae: C. E. Odegaard, 'Carolingian oaths of fidelity', *Speculum* 16 (1941) pp. 284–96.

[69] J. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (London, 1976), s.v. *directum*. Merovingian background to *fidelitas*: M. Lemosse, 'La Lèse-Majesté dans la monarchie franque', *Revue de moyen âge latin* 2 (1946) pp. 13–16.

muddle – the king was a lord like no other – but to clarify and intensify for each of his people a sense of what was owed to the king. Entirely apt therefore was the usual collective designation of the Carolingian aristocracy: the *fideles*, the faithful men. By contrast, the notion of the subject was never really at home in Carolingian political thought.[70] It practically never occurs in the capitularies that record the deliberations of king and aristocracy in assemblies. Similarly the Roman law concept of treason (*laesa majestas, lèse majesté*) was a learned gloss sometimes imposed on individual acts of faithlessness.[71] The near-contemporary account of the Royal Frankish Annals has Tassilo duke of the Bavarians condemned in 788 as 'not having kept his faith', but the revised text of the Annals presents this, a generation later, as treason. Tassilo's faithlessness had taken two forms: he had seduced away the loyalty of others among the king's vassals, and he had instructed his own men to swear Charlemagne false oaths.[72] The king's piety towards the faithful required the turning of wrath on Tassilo. The face of the king, now familiar now terrible, resembled the face of the Lord.

Few medieval writers cared to recall that the Lord had not originally planned for Israel to be ruled by kings. Many noted the Lord's preference, once Israel's kingship had been set up, for hereditary succession. Only such wicked kings as Jeroboam and Ahab had been divinely punished by the extinction of their lines. Pippin clearly intended to found a dynasty, for his wife, apparently unlike Merovingian queens, received some form of consecration alongside her husband.[73] This ritual practice, later adopted elsewhere in Latin Christendom, can probably be linked with a preference for filial, rather than fraternal, succession.[74] But though eldest sons often received a preferential share, the Carolingian king, like his Merovingian predecessors, partitioned his realm between the queen's sons. In the eighth century, as already in the seventh, such divisions were far from arbitrary, however, for the building-blocks, the *regna*, from which composite 'imperial realms' were constructed, were not themselves divisible. Paternal acquisitions meant shares for more sons: Charlemagne provided for two sons in this way. But his eldest son by Queen Hildigard was designated to inherit the whole patrimony of Francia[75] – a plan that probably resulted from a combin-

[70] Verbs denoting 'being subject' (less often the noun) appear as borrowings from scriptural or patristic texts: e.g. Rom. 13; Gregory the Great, *Moralia* xxi, 23, PL 76, col. 203, or as echoes of Roman law, canon law or liturgy. Isidore's notion of *subjectis prodesse*: Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, p. 365 n.40.

[71] Lemosse, 'La Lèse-Majesté', pp. 16–18.

[72] *Annales regni francorum* ed. Kurze, MGH SRG 6; Eng. trans. B. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, 197), s.a. 788, p. 80.

[73] See n. 7 above, where 'ancient tradition' refers to 'elevation' (enthronement), not to the queen's participation in it: J. L. Nelson 'Inauguration rituals', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. I. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1977) pp. 53, 57–8. But *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epp. III (Hanover, 1892), no. 11, p. 505, implies a consecration of Bertrada in 754, even if the so-called *Clausula de unctione Pippini* cannot be accepted as near-contemporary evidence for either 754 or 751. The final section of *Prospice*, above, p. 58, stresses hereditary succession.

[74] P. Stafford, 'The King's wife in Wessex 800–1066', *Past and Present* 91 (1981) pp. 3–27 at pp. 10–12, 16–18.

[75] P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich', in: *Festschrift für H. Heimpel*, II (Berlin, 1972); E. Ewig, 'Überlegungen zu den Merowingischen und Karolingischen Teilungen', *Settimane* 27 (Spoleto, 1981) pp. 225–53.

ation of the eldest son's ambitions with the interest of some Frankish magnates in keeping their patrimonies as far as possible under a single royal lord. In the next generation, rival fraternal ambitions were supported by nobles who gave priority to their interests in particular regions: in 843 a three-way division of Francia created the cores of three kingdoms at the Treaty of Verdun.[76]

These partitions, treating the realm as the personal property of the ruler and his heirs, have been seen as characteristic of patrimonial authority. Though Hincmar of Rheims was familiar with seventh-century Spanish legislation in which the resources of the Crown had been clearly distinguished from the ruler's private holdings,[77] he never made any such distinction in the Carolingians' case. If the term *res publica* could be used by ninth-century writers to denote simply the fisc,[78] then arguably it lacked its classical meaning of the state. It has been argued, further, that a 'true' concept of office is equally elusive in the Carolingian period.[79] Where the Visigoths had defined monarchy as an institution in terms borrowed from late Roman law, a whiff of the household clung to the Carolingian notion of 'ministry' (*ministerium*), royal or otherwise, as personal service. In the absence of a clear distinction between office and incumbent, a king could be judged only as an individual, as father or lord. This was what happened to Louis the Pious, deprived of power by rebellious sons and their supporters in 833. The rebels' propagandist, Agobard, could only pronounce this a divine judgement and Louis a confessed sinner on whom public penance could be imposed.[80] Conversely Hraban Maur, who remained loyal to Louis, countered with appeals to filial duty and scriptural precept: 'The powers that be are ordained of God' (Romans 13:1).[81] Subsequent Carolingian conflicts evoked similar appeals, as when Hincmar reminded Louis the German, invading his brother's kingdom in 858: 'Thou shalt not touch the Lord's anointed' (Psalms 104:15).[82]

Another major limitation of Carolingian political thought has been identified in the concept of law as an individual 'subjective' possession, for this too allegedly forestalled any awareness of the *res publica*, the state, transcending private interests. When Charles the Bald in 843 stated his willingness 'to keep for each his due law', he abdicated, on this view, the prime function of the state in defining the law. Kern, for instance, posed stark alternatives: on the one hand, strong central government making and enforcing unified 'objective' statute law, on the other, a multiplicity of 'subjective' rights tending towards anarchy.[83]

[76] P. Classen, 'Die Verträge von Verdun und Coulaines 843 als politischen Grundlagen des Westfränkischen Reiches', *Historische Zeitschrift* 196 (1963) pp. 1–35; Nelson, 'Public *Histories* and private history'.

[77] Compare J. L. Nelson 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), pp. 241–79 at p. 254 n.1.

[78] Fried, 'Karolingische Herrschaftsverband', pp. 11–16.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 29–33.

[80] Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy', pp. 243–4.

[81] MGH Epp. V pp. 406–7.

[82] MGH Cap. II, no. 297, p. 440.

[83] F. Kern, 'Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift* 24 (1919) pp. 58–60 (F. Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1954) pp. 192–4); Fried, 'Karolingische Herrschaftsverband'

Since Charles the Bald has often been blamed for the Carolingian Empire's lurch to the bad, it is worth noting that Charlemagne too had wished to keep for each his law, and promised to 'make amends' to anyone against whose law royal agents had taken action.[84] But this only underlines the point that the notion of law as right was important throughout the Carolingian period. A man was entitled to judgement according to customary procedures with due account taken of individual rank and status.

The limitations of Carolingian political thought, its hesitations, inconsistencies and shortcomings of expression, are very obvious. Yet to deny the ninth century any idea of the state or of public office is to throw out the baby with the bathwater. Political thought is embodied not only in theories but in contemporaries' *ad hoc* responses to political problems and to perceived discrepancies between ideals and realities. From the ninth century, such responses are preserved in the capitularies produced by Carolingian rulers and those who gave them counsel. So, for instance, the careful delineation of frontiers in ninth-century partitions shows that kingdoms were thought of as possessing territorial definitions and integrity. Royal control over the coinage and over fortifications was asserted throughout the whole territory. Rulers threatened, and sometimes imposed, sanctions on recalcitrant or rebellious nobles: public humiliation, withdrawal of high office, confiscation not only of benefices but of patrimonies or allods. In the exercise of criminal justice, the king claimed the right to send agents into areas under landlords' jurisdiction (immunities) to apprehend malefactors, and all faithful men had to swear to aid in such action. This oath signalled and reinforced the free man's obligations but did not create them. 'All, without any excuse, must come to the defence of the fatherland.'[85] That liability arose, not from the holding of a benefice, or from personal commitment to the royal lord, but from residence in the realm.[86] Even if central power was mediated in practice through the aristocracy, it was exercised through institutions – courts, musters of the host – vested with public authority. The Carolingian regime rested on regalian rights and its own capacity to maintain public

p. 17 with n.66. Charles the Bald's statement in 843: MGH Cap. II, no. 254, p. 255: 'Legem vero unicuique competentem ... in omni dignitate et ordine favente Deo me observaturum perdono.' See also Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy', p. 255. E. Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidelité: recherches sur l'évolution des liens personnels chez les Francs du VIIe au IXe siècle* (Toulouse, 1976) pp. 103–8 is a valuable corrective.

84 MGH Cap. I, no. 25, p. 67: 'Explicare debent ipsi missi qualiter domni regi dictum est, quod multi se conplangunt legem non habere conservatam, et quia omnino voluntas domni regis est ut unusquisque homo suam legem pleniter habeat conservata; et si alicui contra legem factum est, non est voluntas nec sua iussio.'

85 Some examples from the capitularies of Charles the Bald: MGH Cap. II, no. 251, pp. 193–5 (division of 870); no. 273 (Pitres 869), cc. 8–24, pp. 314–29 (coinage), section C, c. 1, p. 328 (fortifications), c. 21, p. 319 (public humiliation), c. 18, p. 317 (royal agents empowered to enter immunities), c. 27, p. 322 (defence of fatherland); no. 260 (Servias 854), c. 13, p. 274 (oaths to denounce criminals); no. 242 (Coblenz 860), p. 158 (withdrawal of high office, confiscation of allods); no. 274 (Tusey 865), c. 13, p. 331 (summons to host). These capitularies draw on those of Charlemagne and especially of Louis the Pious, but also contain significant additions. General comments: J. L. Nelson, 'The rites of the conqueror', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 4 (1982) pp. 117–32, 210–21; eadem, 'Legislation and Consensus'.

86 Compare T. N. Bisson, 'The problem of feudal monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France', *Speculum* 53 (1978) pp. 464–5, 467–9, 477–8.

order. The Church's prayer that 'peace may be unbroken in the realm' was combined with a realistic perception that this outcome depended on royal 'abundance' and 'wealth'.

It is often claimed that royal authority failed in the ninth century because external attacks could only be met effectively by local resistance and this forced a devolution of power into the hands of the aristocracy.[87] Further, this political shift was allegedly reflected in ideas of consensus and of constraints on rulers, for instance through a new stress on the elective basis of kingship.[88] In such reconstructions, neither the history nor the history of thought is wholly convincing. External challenge evoked, on the whole, more vigorous exercise of central authority.[89] Ideas of consensus were not new but traditional, not anti-royal but linked to specific expectations of kingship. If these ideas and expectations were articulated more clearly in the ninth century, this was in part a response to a new, potentially oppressive, royal vigour.

Hincmar of Rheims, the leading elaborator and recorder of west Frankish royal consecration-rites in the ninth century, set down the functions of kingship in a promise required of the king before his consecration.[90] Given the clear parallel with episcopal ordination, and the availability of Pope Gelasius' statements on the divine dispensation of a 'two-fold ruling of the world', it became possible for Hincmar both to model an idea of kingly office on a pre-existent idea of episcopal office and to link the bishops' role as consecrators with their superior dignity in terms of Gelasius' distinction between royal power and priestly authority. Hence, just as the bishop undertook before his ordination to keep the canons of the Church, so the king before his inauguration had to promise 'to keep the laws and statutes for the people committed by God's mercy to me to rule'. The form and context of this royal promise implied that human agents would be able to guarantee the king's fulfilment of this commitment by checking on his conformity to law. Moreover, where previous clerical theorists had been unable to project the Church's authority beyond spiritual responsibility for the king as an individual Christian, Hincmar could assert the bishops' jurisdiction over the king's conduct of an office to which they had consecrated him. These ideas, infrequently and hesitantly as Hincmar expressed them – he never explicitly claimed the competence to depose a king – are nevertheless remarkable attempts at an effective critique of secular rulership. No less remark-

[87] M. Bloch, *La Société féodale*, II (Paris, 1940) pp. 173–5; Eng. trans., *Feudal Society* (London 1961) pp. 395–6; J. Dhondt, *Etudes sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe–XIe siècle)* (Ghent, 1948), pp. 38–9.

[88] W. Schlesinger, 'Kaisertum und Reichsteiling. Zur *Divisio regnorum* von 806', in: *Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, repr. in W.Schlesinger, *Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1963) pp. 132–8.

[89] K.-U. Jäschke, *Burgenbau und Landesverteidigung um 900* (Sigmaringen, 1975).

[90] M. David, *La Souveraineté et les limites juridiques du pouvoir monarchique du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1954) pp. 120–30; K. F. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms. Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton, 1964) pp. 201–6; Nelson 'Kingship, law and liturgy'.

able is the insistence of the ageing Hincmar, dealing now with young and inexperienced kings, that the realm be ruled through counsel with the leading men, lay and clerical: only through consensus thus maintained could faction be avoided.[91]

The layman Nithard, writing his 'Histories' between 841 and 843, showed similar concerns though his emphasis was on the role of the lay aristocracy. The public good should take priority over private interests. Nithard denounced those who misused public resources for personal advantage; he also recorded with approval an episcopal denunciation of a ruler (Lothar) who lacked both 'knowledge of how to govern the commonwealth' (*scientia gubernandi rem publicam*) and 'good will in his government' (*bona voluntas in sua gubernatione*).[92] Through detailed description of contemporary politics, Nithard showed how the Franks could help their kings keep the 'royal road'. Shared counsels produced a collective judgement as to what was both fair and feasible. By following such counsels, a king could assure his faithful men's support. But they in turn had a sanction against a king who reneged on such an agreed course of action. At Strasbourg in 842 the two Carolingian kings Charles the Bald and Louis the German promised each other to maintain a common front against their brother Lothar until he should come to terms. Their oaths were sworn before their faithful men – 'in your sight'. Each king in pursuit 'of the common advantage' summoned his men to act as guarantors of the royal commitment: 'If I forswear this oath I swear to my brother, I release each and every one of you from the oath you have sworn to me.' Further to underscore this point, the faithful men themselves took an oath: 'If my lord breaks his oath, while his brother keeps his ... I shall give him no aid against his brother.'[93] Though the releasing from oath would be on an individual basis, the assumption clearly was that all the faithful men would coincide in their judgements on the king's conduct, hence would undertake concerted action to check the king. The significance of this was not that faithfulness was conditional – it had always been so – but that the faithful men of each kingdom were being treated as a collectivity and were committed to uphold a specific condition on which the common interest depended.

Other near-contemporary evidence from the west Frankish kingdom as it emerged from the Treaty of Verdun shows efforts being made to find appropriate terms to express the group-consciousness of the faithful men. The meeting at Coulaines in November 843 had west Frankish magnates, lay and

91 Nelson, 'The rites of the conqueror', pp. 117–32, 210–21; 'Legislation and consensus'.

92 Nithard, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. with French trans. by P. Lauer, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux* (Paris, 1926); Eng. trans. B. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, 1970), IV, I, p. 118. Compare ibid., I, 3, III, 2, IV, 6, pp. 10, 84, 142.

93 Nithard, *Historiarum libri IV*, III, 5, pp. 102–8. Nithard uses the classical terms *plebs* and *populus*. Compare *Annales Bertiniani*, trans. Nelson, *Annals* s.a. 842, p. 40: 'Fideles populi partis utriusque pari se iuramento constrinxerunt ut, uter eorundem fratrum adversus alterum sinistri quippiam moliretur, relicto prorsus auctore discidii, omnes sese ad servatorem fraternitatis amicitiaeque converterent.' On the oaths see Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982) pp. 122–6.

ecclesiastical, coming together 'into one thing' (*in unum*) and making an agreement (*convenientia*) to which the king then lent his backing. At Meersen in 851, the *convenientia* was said to be made by the three brother-kings and their faithful men; any individual of either category who breached the agreement was to be forced into conformity by all the rest, kings and faithful men alike. In 856 the word *pactum* was used of the similar understanding between Charles the Bald and his faithful men. If one of the latter violated the agreement, he was to be subject to a series of penalties culminating in exile from 'our collective association' (*a nostra omnium societate*). If the king breached the agreement in respect of any individual, he was to be brought back into accord with 'right reason' by the faithful men, lay and ecclesiastical together, 'none abandoning his peer'. What touched one by implication touched all the faithful men. In 857 the group was identified by a new collective noun: *bar(o)natus*.[94]

Almost exactly contemporary is the appeal of west Frankish rebels to the east Frankish King Louis to come and 'liberate them from the tyranny' of Charles. Louis, as a Carolingian and Charles' elder brother, was termed 'legitimate lord'. Charles was said to 'rage against his own people', his promises and oaths no longer to command any trust. The appeal was brought by envoys claiming to speak for the 'people'.[95] Faithful men might unite to reject their king on other grounds than tyranny: withdrawal of fidelity was justified if a king neglected the functions of his rank and title (*honor et nomen*). Military and political failure could cause a Carolingian to be abandoned as 'useless'.[96]

In all these cases from the middle of the ninth century, literate men seem to be striving to articulate the relationship between the king and his constituency. Classical terms jostle with the language of fidelity. The outcome is close to contract theory and a right of resistance. This burst of creativity arose from efforts to resolve an unusual prolonged period of tension in the west Frankish kingdom. It was possible only because political thought for laymen as well as clergy was on the agenda of Carolingian reformers. Thus contestation took place against a background of collaboration between king and aristocracy at an ideological as well as a practical level. In *The Government of the Palace*, Hincmar described the shaping of counsel at assemblies where the king met with 'the generality of the aristocracy as a whole' (*generalitas universorum maiorum*).[97] The

[94] MGH Cap. II, no. 254; no. 205, c. 8, pp. 73–4; no. 262, c. 10, p. 281; 'ut nullus suum parem dimittat ut contra suam legem et rectam rationem et iustum iudicium, etiamsi voluerit, quod absit, rex noster alicui facere non possit'; no. 268, p. 295 (*adnuntiatio Karoli*).

[95] *Annales Fuldenses*. Ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7; Eng. trans T. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, 1992) s.a. 858, pp. 49–50.

[96] *Annales Bertiniani*, trans. Nelson, *Annals*, s.a. 848, p. 55: Pippin II of Aquitaine abandoned for *desidia* and *inertia*: s.a. 862, p. 87: Charles of Provence abandoned (but not definitively) as *inutilis* and *inconveniens regio honore et nomini*. See also Peters, *The Shadow King*, pp. 47–80.

[97] Hincmar of Rheims, *De regis persona et regio ministerio*, PL 125 cols. 833–56; *De divortio Lotharii regis et Tetbergae reginae*, PL 125, cols. 619–772; *De ordine palatii*, ed. T. Gross, and R. Schieffer, MGH Fontes III (Hanover, 1980). Eng. trans. D. Herlihy, *A History of Feudalism* (London, 1970), c. 29, pp. 84–5. J. Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium. Frühfeudale Interpretationen des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankenreiches*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 27 (Stuttgart, 1982) p. 199: '*Consensus*

reality of consensus politics was expressed in the capitularies' invocations of consent, consultation, counsel and aid, and in references to common welfare and public utility as the ends in view. The co-operation of king and faithful men in law-making and judgement-finding was grounded in shared convictions as to what constituted justice, reasonable treatment and fair dues, as well as in shared interest in social order. Participation in power at the centre, not just in the localities, made faithful men, laymen and higher clergy alike, more self-conscious political actors and keepers of the peace. Their *societias* foreshadowed the community of the realm.

The Roman Empire contained many dependent *regna*: this was enough of a commonplace to be included in Isidore's *Etymologies*.[98] At the beginning of the seventh century, the author of a little treatise on official posts excised Romanity from this hegemonial conception, defining an emperor as a ruler over kings. Carl Erdmann termed this a 'Rome-free' imperial idea.[99] For Alcuin the word *empire* (*imperium*) could mean overlordship of a number of different *gentes* 'divided by language and separated by race according to their ancestors' names'. Alcuin was impressed by the capacity to impose peace of hegemons (past and present) in Britain.[100] The Frankish author of the early ninth-century *Paderborn Epic* was just as impressed by Charlemagne: 'a king [who] excelled kings on the summit of empire'.[101] Universality had been the hallmark of the Roman Empire, and then also of the Christian Church that grew within it. When imperial power lapsed in the west, learned men came to terms with barbarian regimes, and elaborated conceptions of Christian kingship.[102] But the equation of Romanity with Christendom remained fossilised in the Church's liturgy: 'Have mercy, O God, on the sins of thy people, ... that the secure liberty of the Roman name may always exult in thy devotion'. In the eighth century Frankish clergy substituted 'Frankish' for 'Roman' in this and similar prayers.[103] The Continua-

fidelium is, so to speak, the "complementary concept" to the Christian ideal of kingship' ('der "Komplementärbegriff" zum christlichen Königsideal').

98 The best surveys of ideas of empire from the ninth to the twelfth centuries are K. F. Werner, 'L'Empire carolingien et le saint empire', in: *Le Concept d'empire*, ed. M. Duverger (Paris, 1980). Still useful: G. Barraclough, *The Mediaeval Empire, Ideal and Reality* (London, 1950).

99 Dating and genre: P. E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich. Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn (Cologne and Vienna, 1960). *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, 4 vols., (Stuttgart, 1968), vol. I, pp. 120–7.

100 Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. and trans. by P. Godman (Oxford, 1982) pp. 42–3, and Godman's comments ibid., pp. lxxxvii–xciii. See also F. L. Ganshof, *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne. Theories and Facts*, The David Murray Lecture no. 16 (Glasgow, 1949), reprinted in Ganshof, *Carolingians*.

101 MGH Poet. I, line 86, p. 368: 'imperii ... rex culmine reges / excellit'. This poem is also known as *Karolus magnus et Leo papa*.

102 M. Reydellet, *La Royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Rome, 1981).

103 *Gelasian Sacramentary*, no. 1503, p. 217: 'populi tui, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, propitiare peccatis ... ut romani nominis secura libertas in tua devocione semper exultet'; and ibid., nos. 1480, 1488 and 1496, pp. 214–6. Compare *Missale francorum*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes II (Rome, 1957), pp. 20–1, altering to *regni francorum nominis*, etc. See G. Tellenbach, 'Römischer und christlicher Reichsgedanke in der Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters', *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* (Heidelberg, 1934/5), and p. 61 and comments pp. 20–2.

tor of Fredegar imagined the pope contemplating secession from the authority of the emperor in Constantinople and turning instead to the Franks.[104] No less imaginatively, a Roman cleric *ca* 760, drawing on the hagiographical legend of Pope Silvester, concocted the Donation of Constantine in which the fourth-century emperor transferred his authority and privileges in the west to the pope, who, in baptising him, had also cured him of leprosy. Though echoes of the Constantine legend occasionally resounded in papal letters, the Donation itself was not used, and had almost certainly never been conceived, as documentary support for papal imperialism in the later eighth century. (Only by a quirk of fate, having got into a Frankish canon law collection in the ninth century as a proof-text for the inviolability of ecclesiastical property against lay encroachment, did the Donation return with this collection to Rome in the eleventh century, to be put to new uses by Gregorian reformers.)[105] The Donation may have scored points in the centuries-old rivalry between Rome and Ravenna. But it was not designed to meet the papacy's increasingly desperate need for an ideological as well as a practical solution to the problem of political order in and around Rome. The eighth-century Republic of St Peter was a bold but abortive experiment.[106] Charlemagne's patriciate of the Romans turned out not to commit him to act effectively to protect the pope. *Faute de mieux*, Leo III would have to call into being a new, western, Roman empire when the old one failed him.

On Christmas Day 800 the two ideas of empire, Rome-free and Rome-centred, briefly intersected in the coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III in Rome. According to Einhard, Charlemagne used to say that 'if he had known beforehand the pope's plan, he would never have entered the church',[107] Leo's plan was to provide himself and his Roman clergy and people with a replica of the too-distant empire in Constantinople: hence the imitation of Byzantine ritual.[108] The Franks had other ideas. For them Charlemagne was an emperor but not a specifically Roman one; he owed his title not to papal coronation but to an acknowledgement of his power by the peoples he ruled. A Frankish annalist wrote that he 'assumed the title of Empire in accordance with the will of God and at the request of all his Christian people'.[109] Charlemagne's imperial seal was inscribed *Renovatio romani imperii*, but this was a renovation that could be conducted far from the city of Rome itself. The *rex francorum* fought shy of the pope's attempt to involve him in a similarly personal relationship with the

[104] Continuator of Fredegar, c. 22, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, p. 96.

[105] Exemplary edition (as *Constitutum Constantini*), origin and early history: H. Fuhrmann, 'Konstantinische Schenkung und Sylvesterlegende in neuer Sicht', *Deutsches Archiv* 15 (1959), 1966; later incorporation in the pseudo-Isidorian collection and subsequent use: idem 1972–4. See also pp. 245–6 below.

[106] Noble, *Republic of St Peter*.

[107] Einhard, *Vita Karoli* ed. O. Holder-Egger. MGH SRG XXV (Hanover, 1911), Eng. trans. Thorpe, *Two Lives*, c. 28, p. 32: 'Quo tempore imperatoris et augusti nomen accepit. Quod primo in tantum aversatus est ut adfirmaret se eo die ... ecclesiam non intraturum si pontificis consilium praescire poteusset.'

[108] Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*; idem, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, I, pp. 215–63.

[109] *Annales Laureshamenses*, MGH SS I: 19–39, p. 37: 'iustum eis [i.e. the assembled clergy and Frankish aristocracy] esse videbatur ut ipse cum deo adiutorio et universo christiano populo petente ipsum nomen [i.e. imperatoris] haberet'.

people of Rome. Charlemagne never used the title 'emperor of the Romans': instead he 'steered the Roman Empire' from Aachen.[110]

In 806, when Charlemagne took counsel with the Franks and envisaged the succession of his son Charles to an undivided patrimony in Francia, with his two younger sons Pippin and Louis retaining the acquired realms (which they had ruled nominally since 781) of Italy and Aquitaine, he made a breach with Frankish royal custom which corresponded to the new-found role of the Franks as an imperial people and of Francia as the seat of empire.[111] The young Charles had probably been destined to succeed to the imperial title; but he and Pippin predeceased their father. In 813 at Aachen, only four months before his own death, Charlemagne named and crowned Louis co-emperor. The inscription of Louis' seal, *renovatio regni francorum*, highlighted the Frankish basis of this imperial realm, and the succession project agreed between Louis and his sons in 817 preserved, as in 806, the unity of Francia, with Louis' eldest son Lothar being crowned co-emperor with the approval of the Franks. The drafter(s) of the document specifying these arrangements put a new stress on the religious legitimacy of the empire, adducing a divine preference for unity which chimed well with Louis' concern to inhibit divisive aristocratic factionalism focusing around Lothar.[112] Growing tension between the co-emperors in the early 820s was eased in the short run when Louis sent Lothar to make an imperial kingdom of Italy. This enabled the pope to reassert the reference of the imperial title to the protectorship of Rome: Paschal I recrowned Lothar as emperor and sought renewed guarantees for papal security.[113] For the next century or so, the imperial title swung between a specific, local meaning (Lothar's heir Louis II was known to contemporary west Franks as 'emperor of Italy')[114] and a wider connotation recalling Charlemagne and the Frankish-imperial tradition. The resumption in 843 of royal custom in the division of Francia between Louis the Pious' sons, the territorial limitations of emperor's powers, and the papacy's consistent pursuit of its local interests resulted in an empire confined *de facto* to Italy. Papal efforts to recast emperorship as a papal gift[115] foundered with the collapse of papal power in Rome in the late ninth century. Churchmen tended to be preoccupied with politics at the level of the kingdom, and the idea of empire, like the collective responsibility of Carolingian brother-kings for the

110 P. Classen, '*Romanum gubernans imperium:* zur Vorgeschichte der Kaisertitulatur Karls des Grossen', *DA* 9 (1951) pp. 103–21. Charlemagne's seal: Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, I, pp. 274–84.

111 P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich' in: *Festschrift für H. Heimpel*, II, (Berlin, 1972). Further dimensions of the 806 text: W. Schlesinger, 'Kaisertum und Reichsteilung. Zur *Divisio regnorum* von 806', in: *Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, repr. in W. Schlesinger *Beiträge zue deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1963). Text translated in H. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne* (London, 1975) pp. 91–6.

112 Religious aspects of imperial ideals of Louis and his advisers: T. F. X. Noble, 'The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious', *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976) pp. 235–50. P. Classen 'Karl der Grosse und die Thronfolge', argues for continuity between 806 and 817. Eng. trans Brian Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1966) pp. 38–42.

113 *Annales regni francorum* s.a. 823; Eng. trans. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, pp. 160–1.

114 *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 860, 863, trans. Nelson, *Annals*, pp. 83, 96, 97.

115 On the significance of John VIII's pontificate see Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, pp. 219–25.

one Church, came to mean little to the aged Hincmar.[116] It had been resurrected to legitimise Frankish imperialism. Frankish divisions made it hard to sustain. For its substance had always been the oneness of the Frankish people: there were many *regna* and several kings, but only one *regnum francorum*. In 881, Hincmar felt himself to be in a kingdom that was only a 'small bit' (*particula*) of that *regnum*.[117]

Yet two other dimensions of the Carolingian imperial revival ensured that the idea of empire survived the divisions of the ninth century. First, the Franks' political success brought to the spokesmen of Latin Christendom a new sense of separateness from the world of the Greeks, Byzantium. The *Libri Carolini* denied authority in the west to those 'kings' in Constantinople who had usurped the imperial title that belonged to Christ alone.[118] Charlemagne once having become (somewhat inconsistently) an emperor himself claimed parity with his 'brother' in the east and gained Byzantine recognition of his title in 812. Later, parity was no longer enough. Ermold turned against Constantinople the very symbol of cultural superiority she had once directed to the west: the organ. Constantine V had sent one to Pippin in 757 and much impressed the Franks. Seventy years later Louis the Pious had one made for him at Aachen, thereby, according to Ermold, taking away from Constantinople her 'chief glory': 'Maybe it will be a sign that they [the Greeks] should bow their necks to the Franks.'[119] In 871 a letter written on behalf of the Emperor Louis II told the emperor in Constantinople that the 'Greeks' had lost the empire of the Romans because of their heretical opinions: that empire had been transferred to the Franks 'by virtue of our orthodoxy'.[120] A Frankish court, to which came embassies and gifts from subordinate peoples and from the east, was an apt vantage point for the spatial dimension of the Latin-Christian idea of empire.

For the second dimension, that of time, the vantage point was the monastery. At St Gall, Notker the Stammerer pondered Daniel's prophecy of the four monarchies and concluded that the contemporary Frankish Empire, reunited as Notker wrote under Charles the Fat, was the last of these and destined to last till the end of time.[121] Notker's faith could overcome such obstacles as Charles the Fat's personal failings or the fragmentation of the empire in 888. Similarly in the tenth century, when that fragmentation had become permanent, Adso of Montierender affirmed the continuance of the Roman Empire under 'the kings of the Franks' whose efforts held off the coming of Antichrist.[122] Both Notker and

[116] U. Penndorf, *Das Problem der 'Reichseinheitsidee' nach der Teilung von Verdun (843)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 20 (Munich, 1974) pp. 77–90.

[117] Council of St Macre, Fismes, c. 8, PL 125, col. 1085. On plurality of *regna* see K. F. Werner, 'La genèse des duchés en France et en Allemagne', *Settimane* 27 (1981) pp. 175–207; *Regnum francorum*: P. Classen, Comments in discussion of Werner 1981, ibid., pp. 209–12.

[118] MGH Conc. II, Supplement, pp. 3, 5, 16–17.

[119] Ermold, *In honorem Hludowici*, lines 2520–9, p. 192. Arrival of Byzantine organ: *Annales regni francorum* s.a. 757; Eng. trans. Scholz, p. 14.

[120] MGH Epp. VII, p. 385.

[121] H.-W. Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolingischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines zeitgenössischen Mönchs* (Bonn, 1981).

[122] B. Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum* (Wiesbaden, 1979) pp. 61–4).

Adso were monks writing for rulers. 'The Christian idea of empire ... was a powerful force in the middle ages, influential in the minds and actions of many kings and emperors', wrote Geoffrey Barraclough, ... 'But we shall simply pile up confusion if we attempt to identify it with the historical empire in the west, or indeed with any other empire of this world.'[123] Because eschatology shaped the monastic world-view and because monks shaped so much of recorded medieval thought, it was the eschatological dimension that gave the idea of empire its extraordinary capacity to withstand the repeated shocks of confrontation with dissonant political realities.

Carolingian legacies

The west Frankish realm

The rapid weakening of west Frankish kingship towards the close of the ninth century led to a reinforcing of the theocratic central prop of Carolingian political thought. Hincmar's successor Fulk of Rheims flirted with elective kingship, arguing in the disputed succession of 888 that his candidate, as a tried warleader, was more 'suitable' than a nine-year-old claimant.[124] But there were risks in putting too much stress on meritocratic criteria. The problem diagnosed by the historian Regino of Prüm was not shortage but excess of quality among the Frankish magnates leading to 'emulation and mutual ruin'.[125] Hence a heavy reinvestment by churchmen in the rights of heirship and blood when royal authority seemed to offer the only defence against the privatisation of ecclesiastical resources. Though the see of Rheims suffered more than most from this threat in the tenth century, its claim to possess the holy oil brought from heaven for Clovis' baptism became a powerful myth legitimising both west Frankish kingship and Rheims prerogatives.[126] From Hincmar's time onwards, consecration was indispensable for west Frankish kings in the sense that none dispensed with it.[127] The drawing of a parallel between the king and Christ the Anointed One was encouraged by the 'uncompromisingly Christocentric' monastic piety of the period.[128] A west Frankish royal *ordo* of *ca* 900 invoked 'Christ anointed

123 G. Barraclough, *The Mediaeval Empire, Ideal and Reality* (London, 1950) p. 26.

124 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. I. Heller and G. Waitz, MGH SS XIII (Hanover, 1881) IV, c. 5, p. 563: 'Karolus adhuc admodum corpore simul et scientia parvulus existebat nec regni gubernaculis idoneus erat.'

125 Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG L, s.a. 888, p. 129: '[Wars arose] non quia principes Francorum deessent, qui nobilitate, fortitudine et sapientia regnis imperare possent, sed quia inter ipsos aequalitas generositatis, dignitatis ac potentiae discordiam augebat, nemine tantum ceteros precellente, ut eius dominio relinqui se submittere dignarentur. Multos enim idoneos principes ad regni gubernacula moderanda Francia genuisset, nisi fortuna eos aemulatione virtutis in pernitiem mutuam armasset.' Despite classical echoes, the idea of suitability here is clearly contemporary.

126 Hincmar first made the claim, in 869: MGH Cap. II, no. 276, p. 340.

127 Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, pp. 62–4, 145–7.

128 E. H. Kantorowicz, '*Deus per naturam, Deus per gratiam:* a note on mediaeval political theology', *Harvard Theological Review* 4 (1982), pp. 253–77. Idem, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957) pp. 61, 78.

by the oil of exultation above His fellows'. The same rite's coronation prayer enjoined that the king 'believe himself to bear the name and deputyship of Christ', while at the enthronement, Christ was requested as 'mediator of God and man' to 'strengthen on this throne of the realm [the king] as mediator of clergy and people'.[129] These prayers should not be pressed for a precise legalistic meaning: they assert the Church's traditional view of the divine origin, and responsibilities, of kingship. The apt ritual complement to anointing and coronation is the bishops' girding-on of the king's sword for use 'in ejecting the Church's enemies and caring for the realm and protecting the fortresses of God'.[130]

As in liturgy so in vernacular literature the late ninth century was notably productive. Even if only indirectly, lay attitudes to kingship seem to be reflected here. The monk Otfrid probably wrote for lay aristocrats as well as fellow monks when he presented Christ as a war leader dying to save his faithful men, hence snatching victory from death.[131] The *Ludwigslied* written in 881 to celebrate the victory of a Frankish king over the Vikings in that year was perhaps a learned monastic pastiche of a living oral tradition of secular poetry, but could surely have been relished outside as well as inside the 'fortresses of God'. It establishes King Louis' credentials:

> The Lord gave him manhood, a lordly following,
> A throne in Francia – long may he hold it!

Before battle is joined Louis promises his men:

> Who here in hero's strength does God's will
> I shall reward if he comes away safe:
> If he dies in battle I shall reward his kin ...
> Song was sung, battle begun.
> Blood shone in cheeks as the Franks played.

And the poem ends:

> Well being to you Louis, king blessed in war![132]

The *chansons de geste* survive only from two centuries later, but since they took shape around episodes in Carolingian history they are arguably another part of this Carolingian legacy.[133] The *Song of Roland* in its extant form of *ca* 1100

[129] Crowning-prayer: '[Christus] cuius nomen vicemque gestare rex crederis'; sword-prayer: '[Salvator] cuius typum geris in nomine'; enthronement-prayer: 'quatinus mediator Dei et hominum te mediatorem cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet et in regnum eternum secum regnare faciat'. Co-rulership in heaven: Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, I, pp. 79–85; compare the image of ruler as servant: R. Deshman, 'The exalted servant: the ruler theology of the prayer book of Charles the Bald', *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 385–417.

[130] 'Erdmann' Ordo: Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, II, pp. 218.

[131] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977) pp. 198–203; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 385–7: one copy of Otfrid's work was addressed to Louis the German.

[132] *Ludwigslied*, lines 5–6, 39–41, 48–9, 57, pp. 25–7: for discussion see Edwards, chapter 5 below, pp. 158–61.

[133] R. Louis, 'L'Epopée française et Carolingienne', *Coloquios de Roncesvalles 1955* (Saragossa, 1956) pp. 327–460.

stressed royal war leadership all the more fervently for being able to blend it with the crusading theme of Christian warfare against Muslims. But the ruler who fights God's battles under his orders bears the true Carolingian stamp. His is also a traditional authority in another sense. The *Song of Roland* first depicts the silver-bearded Charlemagne not on the battlefield but in an orchard surrounded by noble peers sitting on white carpets. The politics of counsel and consent are playing out in this setting:

> Beneath a pine straightway the king is gone
> And calls his barons to council thereupon:
> By French advice what'er he does is done.[134]

What is striking in the main *chanson* tradition is the continued centripetal pull of kingship for the aristocracy: here, faithfulness though owed in principle to any lord was focused overwhelmingly on the king. The word 'betrayal' (*trahison*) acquired the sense of a uniquely heinous crime against the king or his officers. 'Treason was a dominant, even compulsory, motif in the *chansons*.'[135] Hence though Roland's Charlemagne is an archetypical patrimonial figure, he is also representative of a public power whose claims override those of private vengeance. If there are clear continuities with Carolingian ideas of royal responsibility for the peace of the realm, there are also parallels with the Roman law concept of *majestas* invoked by learned men from the early eleventh century onwards to defend royal or princely authority.

Given the role of the *chansons* as a medium of cultural values in the tenth, eleventh and early twelfth centuries, it becomes unsurprising that the diminishing scope of royal power left kingship unimpugned as a source of legitimation for the power of others. The idea that all authority, and specifically high justice, depended ultimately on delegation from the king was nurtured by magnates whose own position was often threatened from below.[136] The princes of the west Frankish kingdom might not have recognised themselves in R. W. Southern's thumbnail sketch as 'shockingly unconsecrated and dumb'.[137] For they symbolically claimed their share in the king's consecration by linking their power to his, whether through participating in his ritual inauguration, or else by using titles that proclaimed them still the 'ministers' of the king, offerers of faith and counsel, sharers in royal virtues.[138] As Carolingian traditions were cultivated equally assiduously by the later Carolingian kings and by their Robertian rivals in the century following 888, the idea of the west Frankish realm became detached from a particular dynasty.[139] Further, it could be plausibly recon-

134 Eng. trans. D. Sayers, *The Song of Roland* (Harmondsworth, 1957).

135 M. Jones, '"Bons Bretons et bons Francoys": the language and meaning of treason in later medieval France', *TRHS* 5th series, 32 (1982) pp. 93–6.

136 K. F. Werner, 'Königtum und Fürstentum im französischen 12. Jahrhundert', Vorträge und Forschungen 12 (Sigmaringen, 1968), pp. 177–225; Eng. trans., *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. T. Reuter (Amsterdam, Oxford and New York, 1979).

137 R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953) p. 99.

138 Werner, 'Königtum und Fürstentum'.

139 Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition*.

structed as an imperial realm once territorial princes had laid claim to provincial authority in Normandy, Aquitaine, Gothia, Burgundy.[140] The Rheims cleric Richer at the close of the tenth century described the 'princes of the Gauls' assembled in 987 to choose between a Carolingian claimant, Charles of Lorraine, and Hugh Capet, duke of Francia. Hugh was the choice of 'Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Aquitainians, Goths, Spaniards and Gascons'[141] – wishful thinking on Richer's part since only northern princes were in fact involved, but clearly an attempt to make Hugh's 'empire' coextensive with the old west Frankish realm. Equally revealing is the reason given for the princes' rejection of the Carolingian claimant: 'he had not been horrified to serve a foreign king', that is, Otto III. What is being asserted here is the separate identity of 'Gaul' as against the Ottonian realm 'across the Rhine'. For Richer as for other contemporaries, the continuance of twin Frankish kingdoms, eastern and western, had become an anachronism. Around the turn of the tenth/eleventh centuries, the westerners came to monopolise the 'Frankish' label for their own kingdom.[142] A final significant point is made when Richer says that the princes rejected Charles of Lorraine because 'he had married a wife who, being of the knightly class, was not his equal'. Here is the reflection of the high nobility's consciousness of themselves as 'peers' who could intermarry with and rule with the king's family.[143] It was this group whom Richer referred to as the 'princes' or 'primates' that in fact as well as in theory underwrote the nascent French kingdom.

The weak early Capetian kings could gain little mileage from Carolingian traditions of royal warleadership. The monk Helgaud of the royally patronised house of Fleury made a virtue of necessity when he presented in his life of Robert the Pious a pacific, protective royal father and almsgiver: and an image of royal sanctity.[144] When Bishop Adalbero of Laon urged Robert to restore law and order by collaborating with his bishops, he recommended the skills of the orator, exploiting that word's double meaning of pray-er and public-speaker.[145] Robert, swaying God and man, might have been cast as a perfect mediator. A

[140] K. F. Werner, 'Königtum und Fürstentum im französischen 12. Jht,' Eng. trans. T. Reuter, *The Medieval Nobility* (Oxford, 1978) pp. 137–202; Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition* pp. 185–93.

[141] Richer, *Historiarum libri* IV, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG (Hanover 1877) and R. Latouche ed. and (Fr.) trans, *Richer histoire de France* (888–995) (Paris, 1967), IV, cc. 11–12, pp. 132–3; once the *principes Galliarum* are assembled, 'dux [Hugo] omnium consensu in regnum promovetur ..., Gallis, Brittannis, Dahis, Aquitanis, Gothis, Hispanis, Wasconibus rex ... prerogatur. Stipatus itaque regnorum principibus, more regio decreta fecit legesque condidit, felici successu omnia ordinans atque distribuens.'

[142] Ibid., pp. 133: Archbishop Adalbero of Rheims sways the assembly against the Carolingian Charles of Lorraine: 'Quid dignum Karolo conferri potest, quem fides non regit, torpor enervat, postremo qui tanta capitis imminutione hebuit, et externo regi servire non horruerit?' Francia as the western Frankish realm, hence France: K. F. Werner, 'Das hochmittelalterliche Imperium im politischen Bewusstsein Frankreichs (10–12 Jhdts)', *Historische Zeitschrift* 200 (1965) pp. 1–60, at pp. 10–13; J. Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition und Frühes Nationalbewusstsein in Frankreich', *Francia* 4 (1976) pp. 213–35 at pp. 224–7.

[143] Richer, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Latouche, IV, c. II, p. 133: 'uxorem de militari ordine sibi imparem duxdrit'.

[144] C. Carozzi, 'Le roi et la liturgie chez Helgaud de Fleury', *Hagiographie, cultures, et sociétés IVe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981) pp. 417–32.

[145] Duby, *Les trois ordres*, pp. 64–5.

century later, with Capetian kings becoming more active and more powerful, Abbot Suger of St Denis could fuse the full range of Carolingian traditions with contemporary themes, presenting Louis VI as a paladin of Christian warfare, defending the Church against tyrannical castellans and his realm against an aggressor from across the Rhine.[146] At his royal inauguration, the young Louis, 'his sword of secular knighthood put aside, had girded on him an ecclesiastical sword, to wreak vengeance on malefactors'.[147] In avenging the murder of his vassal the Flemish count, Louis shed blood by which Flanders was 'washed white as if rebaptised': again a Christocentric image beloved of monastic writers but appealing at the same time to the audience of the *chansons* (a genre also cultivated at St Denis).[148] In Suger's hands, the cult of monarchy was depersonalised and the Crown was on the way to becoming the symbol of the 'realm of France' – a consummation devoutly wished by the monks of St Denis, custodians of the regalia but not of Clovis' heaven-sent oil.

The east Frankish realm

The Ottonians' kingdom was a direct heir of the Carolingian Empire and its image was constructed by men steeped in Carolingian traditions. Widukind, writing his *Deeds of the Saxons* in the late 960s in the royal abbey of Corvey, linked the Ottonians with the Saxon *gens* just as Einhard had linked the Carolingians with the destiny of the Franks. Otto I, like Charlemagne, was an overlord of *gentes*. It was the dukes as leaders of the *gentes* who symbolically sustained Otto by serving him at his coronation feast. Widukind saw no incongruity in describing, first, Otto's enthronement outside the church by 'dukes and warriors', second, his consecration inside by bishops.[149] The *virtus* Widukind saw in the Ottonians could be appreciated by warriors and bishops alike. It impressed the learned monk as a kind of muscular Christianity: there is nothing that need suggest ancient Germanic notions of sacred kingship.[150] The first Ottonian, Henry I, sacrificed territory to acquire the potent relic of the Holy Lance.[151] He may have (though Widukind does not say so) declined anointing by the archbishop of Mainz on the grounds that 'it was enough to be designated and declared king', that is, designated by his predecessor and declared by aristocratic support.[152] Henry's preference has more to do with Carolingian traditionalism (ninth-century east Frankish Carolingians were not anointed)

146 Ibid., pp. 277–81.
147 Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1929) p. 86.
148 Ibid., p. 250.
149 Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 7, saw Franks and Saxons united as one *populus* in Christianity.
150 K. L. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society. Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979) pp. 77–82.
151 Ibid., p. 88.
152 *Vita Udalrici*, MGH SS IV, p. 389, a late tenth-century text. See M. Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges: Etude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg, 1924) pp. 472–3 (Eng. trans. 1973, pp. 270–1).

than with resisting Christian charisma in the name of Germanic *Heil*.[153] By *ca* 960 some east Frankish liturgist(s), probably at Mainz, conflated an earlier east Frankish rite with a west Frankish one to produce the most splendid royal *ordo* of the early Middle Ages.[154] Here the king was said to become a 'sharer in the ministry' of his consecrators. They were 'pastors and rectors of souls *in interioribus*' he was 'strenuous defender of the Church against its enemies *in exterioribus*'[155] a partnership in the Gelasian tradition.

The court artists of the later Ottonians and Salians, like those of the Carolingians in the generations after Charlemagne, increasingly stressed the king's majesty and nearness to God.[156] Ritual linked him more publicly with the aristocracy of the *gentes* when, following his inauguration, he rode around the component *regna* of the realm to receive their recognition.[157] For the king's sacrality, as Karl Leyser has pointed out, was an evolving thing, a function of aristocratic as well as of royal needs. The king's judging – his allocation of wealth and power, reward and punishment, peace and wrath – was the 'force of cohesion' that kept the realm together.[158] Hence the extended itineraries of the later Ottonians had political as well as symbolic significance.

Some German historians have claimed that 'a principle of the indivisibility of the realm' came into being in the tenth century.[159] Though this is only an inference from a sequence of undivided successions resulting from dynastic accident, the fact that in 1024 when the Ottonian line ended Conrad II was elected to an undivided realm suggests at least a preference (if not a principle) on the part of the electors, that is, the bishops and lay magnates. From this a political idea could emerge. In his *Deeds of Conrad*, Wipo, one of Conrad's chaplains, described the dangers that in 1024 beset the commonwealth (*res publica*): it was the dowager empress and 'eminent men', clerical and lay, who steered the fatherland (*patria*) safely into harbour.[160] Like Carolingian scholars in similar circumstances, Wipo drew on his classical reading to voice anew a 'transpersonal idea of the state'. When the citizens of Pavia, hearing of Henry II's death, destroyed the royal palace there, on the grounds that there was no longer a king who owned it, Conrad countered their argument by distin-

[153] W. Schlesinger, 'Kaisertum und Reichsteilung. Zur *Divisio regnorum* von 806', in: *Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, repr. in Schlesinger, *Beitrage zur deutchen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1963) p. 160.

[154] *Pontificale romano-germanicum*, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 2 vols. Studi e Testi 226 (Rome, 1963), I, pp. 246–59.

[155] Coronation-prayer, ibid., p. 257.

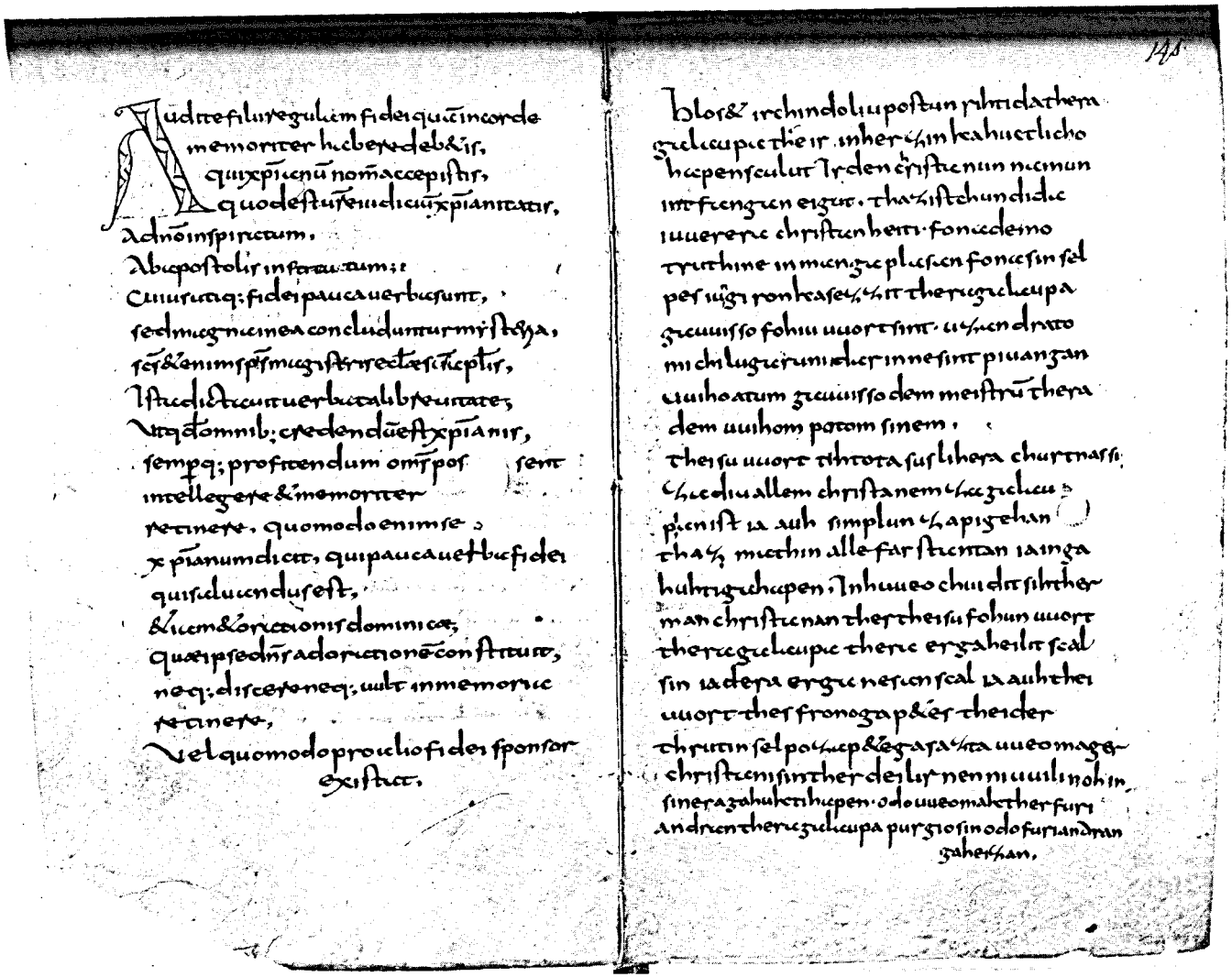
[156] E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957) pp. 61–78; R. Deshman, '*Christus rex et magi reges*: kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon art', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976) pp. 375–405.

[157] R. Schmidt, 'Königsumritt und Huldigung in ottonisch-salischer Zeit', Vorträge und Forschungen 6 (Sigmaringen, 1961).

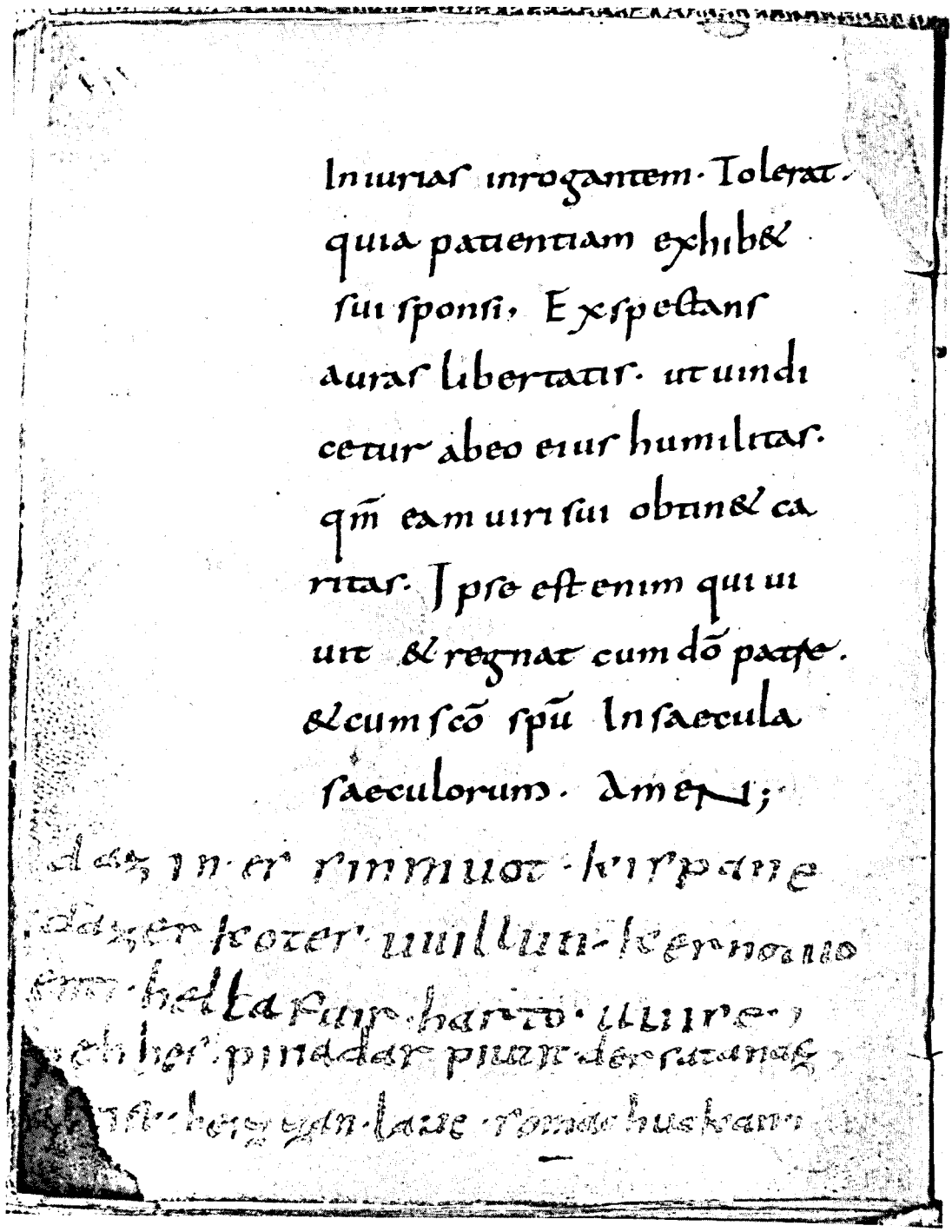
[158] Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 104–5; idem, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900–1250* (London, 1982) pp. 94–6.

[159] But compare J. B. Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages* (London, 1971) pp. 9–10.

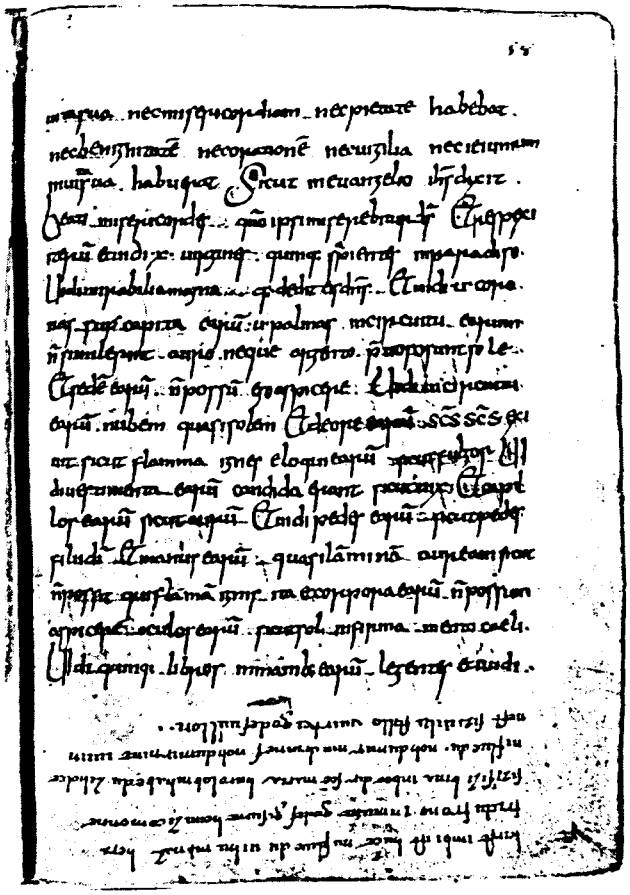
[160] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SRG LXI (Hanover, 1915), c. 1, p. 9; Eng. trans., T. E. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, Records of Civilisation: Texts and Studies LXVII (New York, 1962) p. 57–8.



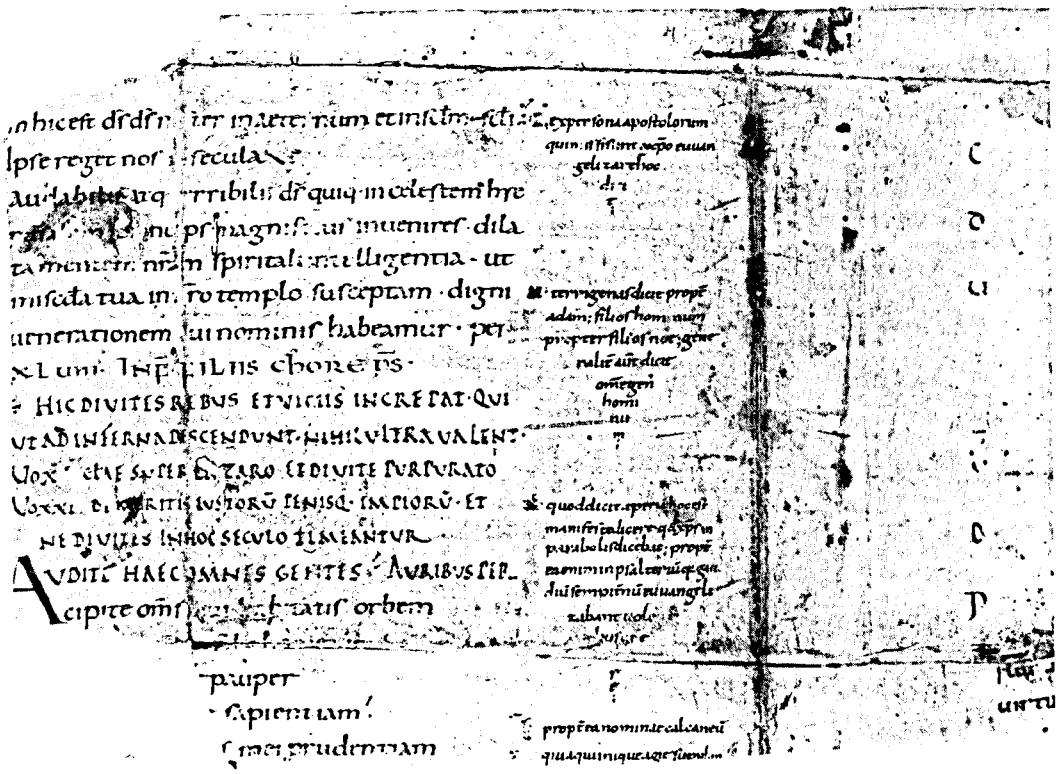
1 *Exhortatio ad plebem christianam*, Munich, Clm 6244, fols. 144v–145r, s.ix in., from southern Bavaria.



2 *Muspilli*, Munich, Clm 14098, fol. 119v, probably from Regensburg, s.ix^{med}. and lower script s.ix^{ex}.



3 *Lorsch Bee Charm*, written upside down in the lower margin of Vat. pal. lat. 220, fol. 58 (s.ix^{in}., Middle Rhine, Insular minuscule), epitomising the relationship between Latin and the vernacular in Carolingian Germany. The manuscript, a collection of sermons, was by 900 at Lorsch where marginalia were added in the tenth century.



4 Bernard Quaritch Ltd, glossed Psalter fragment, written in caroline minuscule with uncial headings, s.ix^{2}, N. Italy.

monachi diuinarevelatione reptum alexandriam p ducē ecln
acta scī iohis baptiste humatur · v dcc lxxiii

Iustiniañ immor rēg annō xi. narsio patricius post quā subiustiniano
augusto. tres lanē regem gothorū in italia superauit · sophie augus
te iustiniani coniugis minis p̄territus longobardos a pannonia in
uitauit. eosq. in italiā introduc · hac tempestate leuuigildus rex
gothorū quasdam hispaniae regiones sibi rebelles in potestatē sui
regni superando redegit · . quinq. milia dcc lxxx

Tiberius rēg annō viii · Gothi p hermenegildum leuuigildi regis fi
lium bifariam diuisi mutua cede uastantur · v dccc i

Mauricius rēg annō xxi · sueui aleuuigildo rege obtenta · gothis subi
untur · Gothi p̄ elharedo principe intendentes ad fidem catholicā
reuertuntur · hoc tempr̄ scs̄ gregorius romae epūs insignis celebrat̄ ·
Eodem etiam tempr̄ auares aduersum romanos dimicantes auro
magisq. ferro pelluntur · v dccc viii

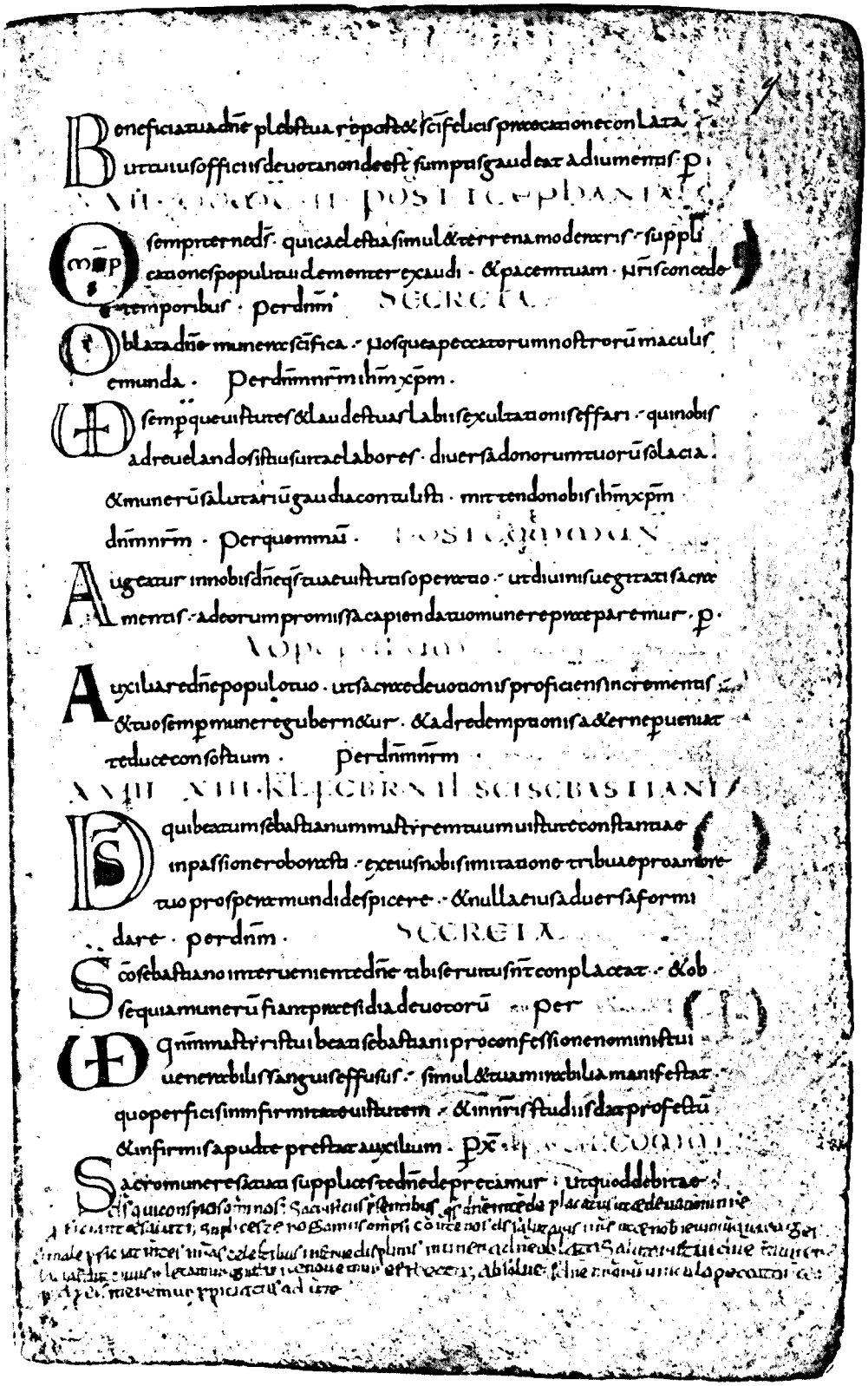
Focas rēg annō viii · Iste sedritionem militari impr̄ effectē · martium
ag̃ nobilium q. multos interfecē · huius tempr̄ plerim ecclesiā · portionē
etaegypti cum bellum facunt · ac sese mutua cede perimunt · p
lia quoq. p̄ varias gentissima aduersum rem publicā exercant̄ · aq
b. romani fortiter de bellant plurimas prouincias · et ipsam hiero
solimam amiserunt v dccc xiiii

Eraclius deinde quinto agente anno imperium · sisebot gothorū glo
riosissimus princeps in hispania plurimas romanae militiae urbes
sibi bellando subiecit · et iudeos sui regni subditos ad xpi fidem
conuertit ·

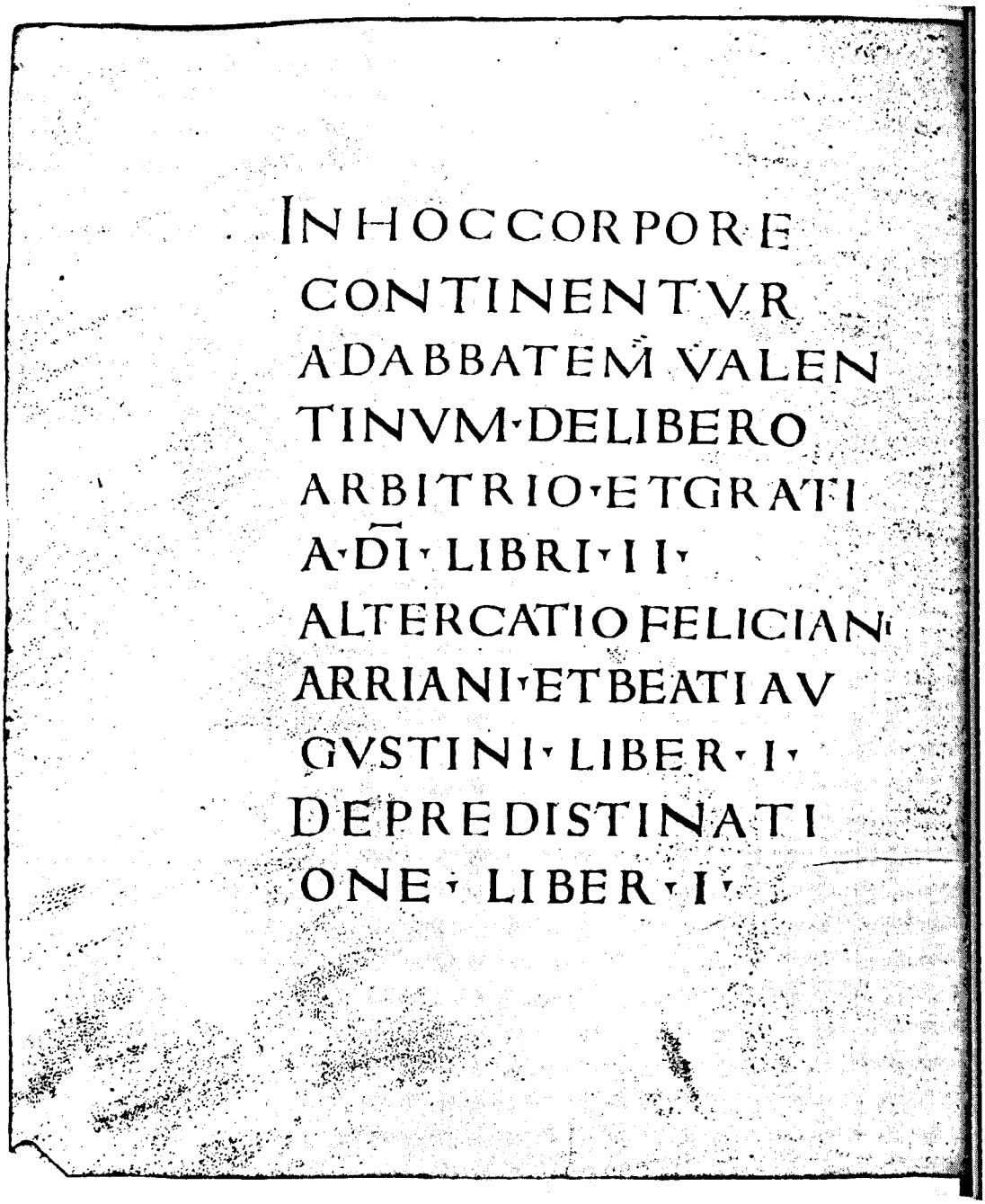
Sunt igitur ab initio mundi usq. in eram p̄sentem v dccc xiiii ·
Hoc ē in anno quinto imperii eraclii · et quarto religiosissimi
principis sisebuti · Reliquum scī tempus humanae naturae inuisa

5

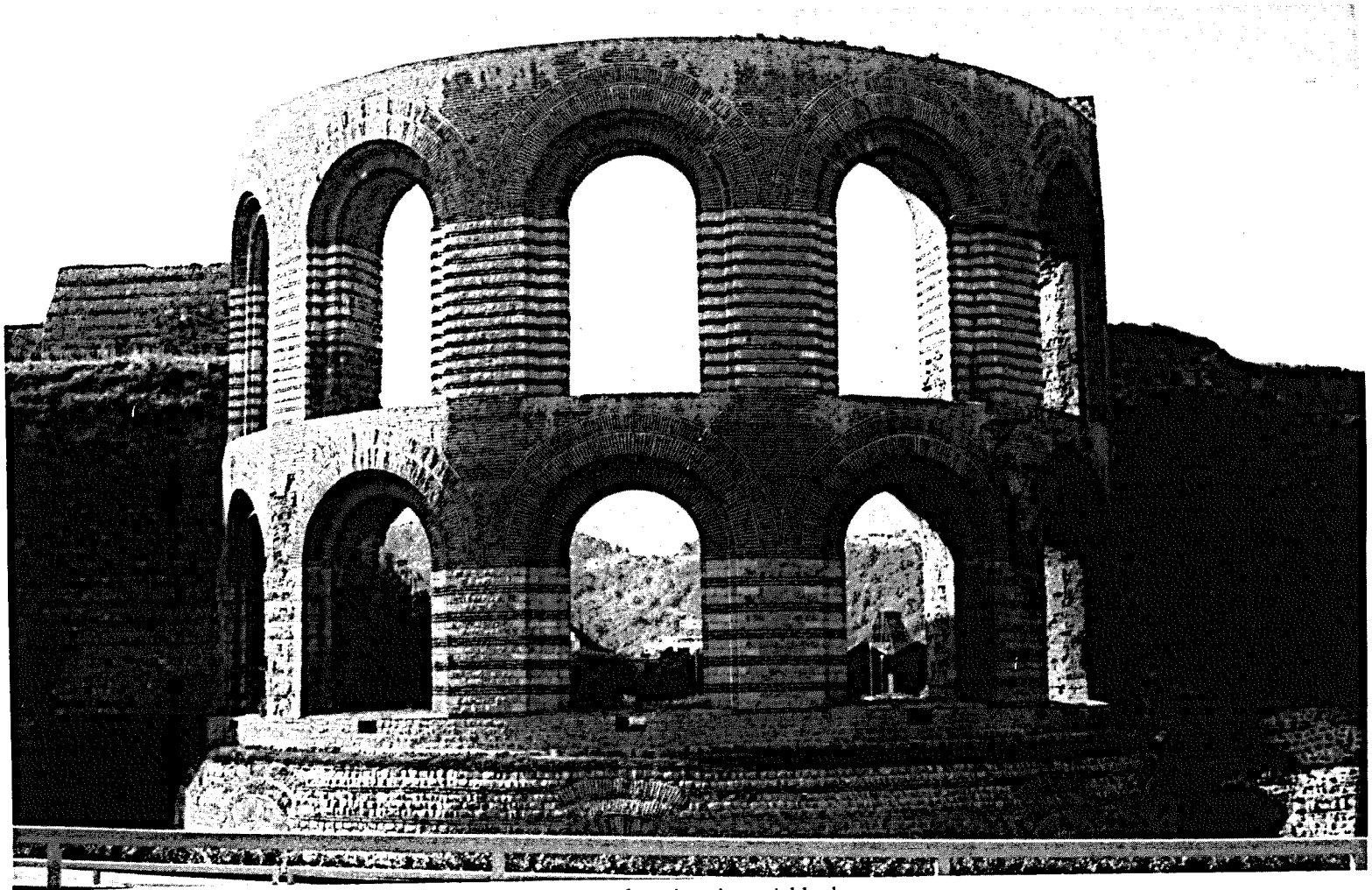
5 BN lat. 1863, fol. 34r, caroline minuscule from Rheims, s.ix^{ex}.



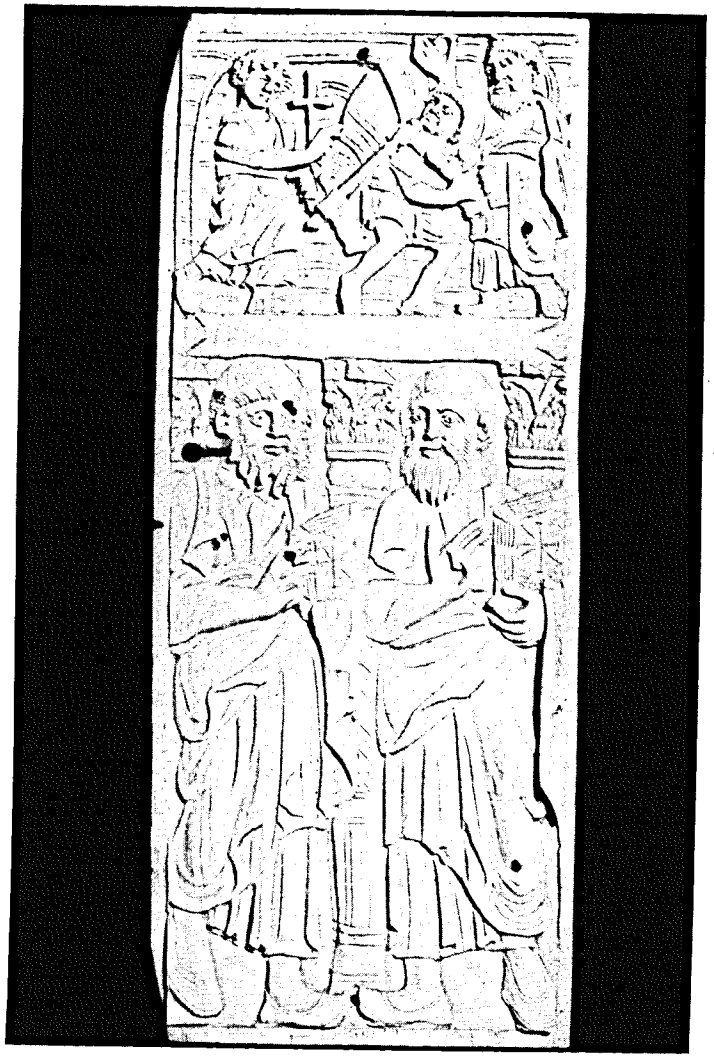
6 BN lat. 2296, fol. 7r. A Sacramentary from St Amand, written in early caroline minuscule, with uncial headings and large capitals to set out the text, s.viii/ix.



7 BN lat. 974, fol. 6v. St Amand square capitals, s.ix[1].



8 Trier, east elevation, imperial baths.

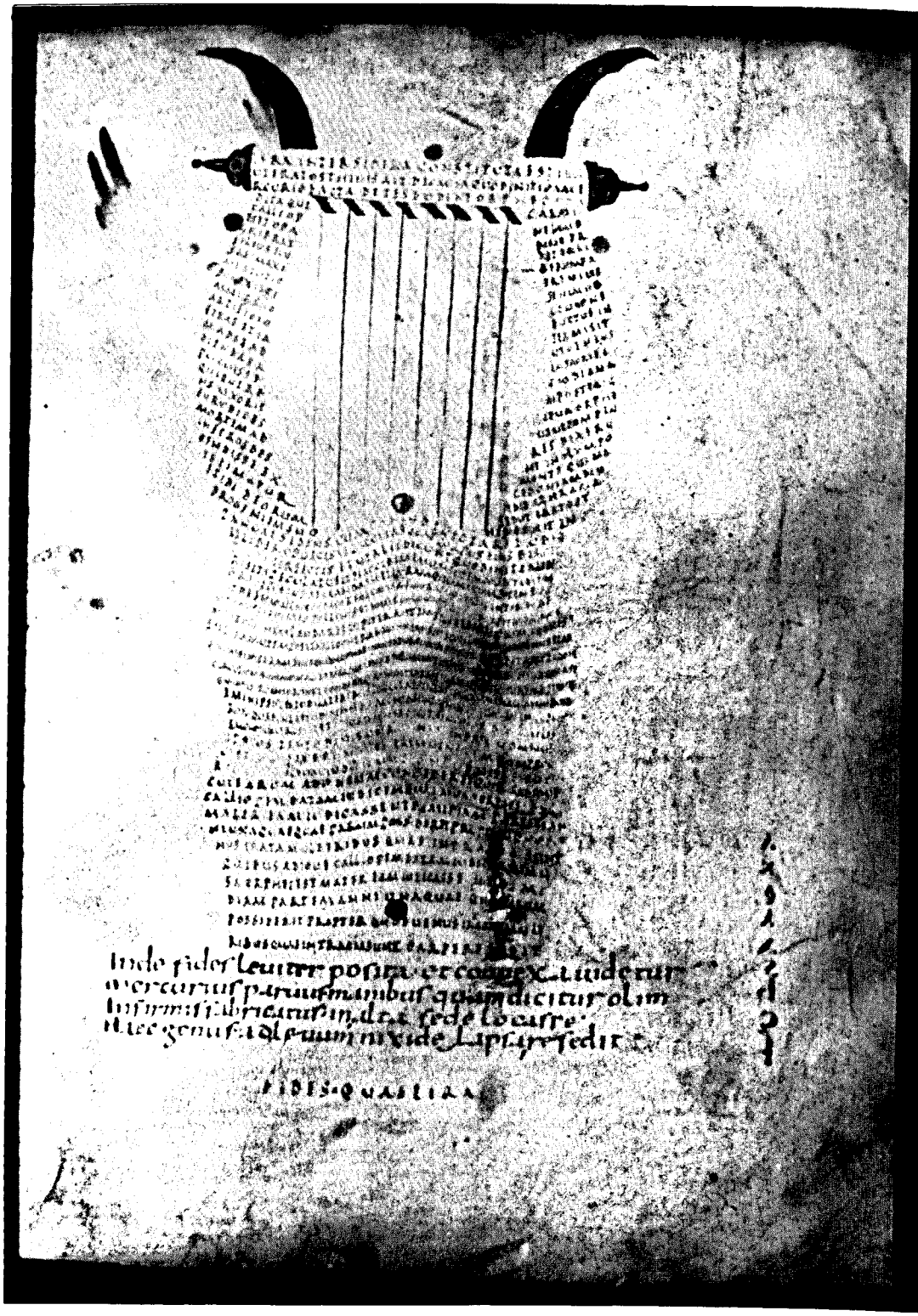


9 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ivory M.11/1904.

10 *Carmen paschale*, Antwerp, Plantin Museum.

11 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ivory (from Metz).

12 Aachen Cathedral, lion mask door handle.

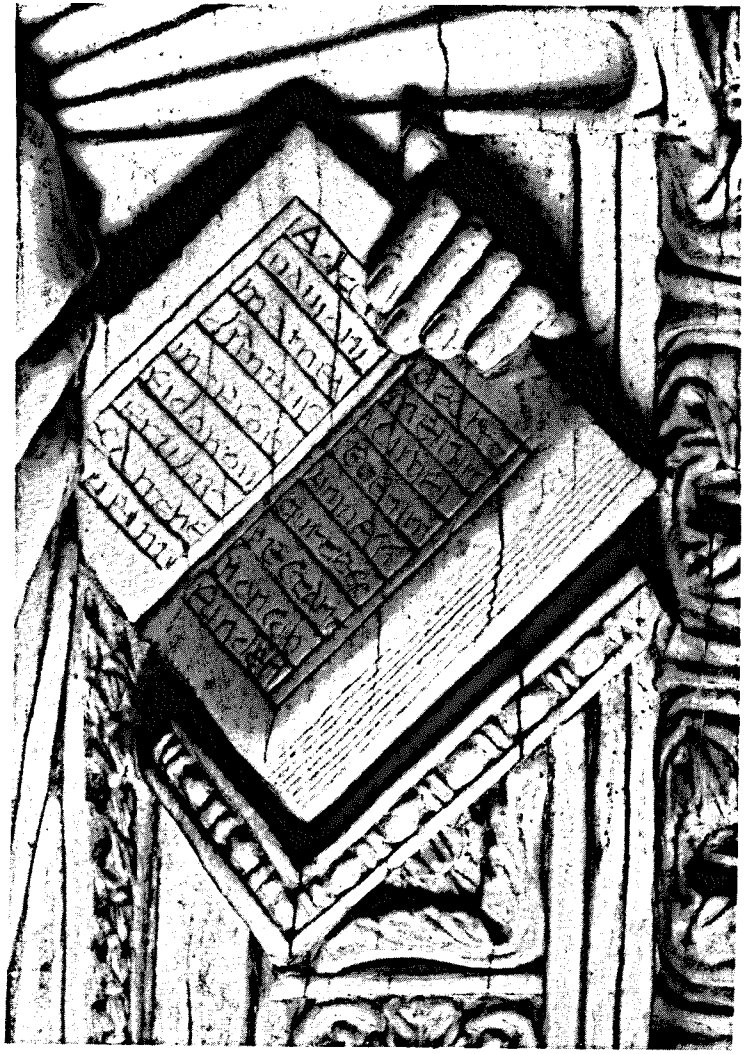


13 London, BL Harley 647, fol. 5r.

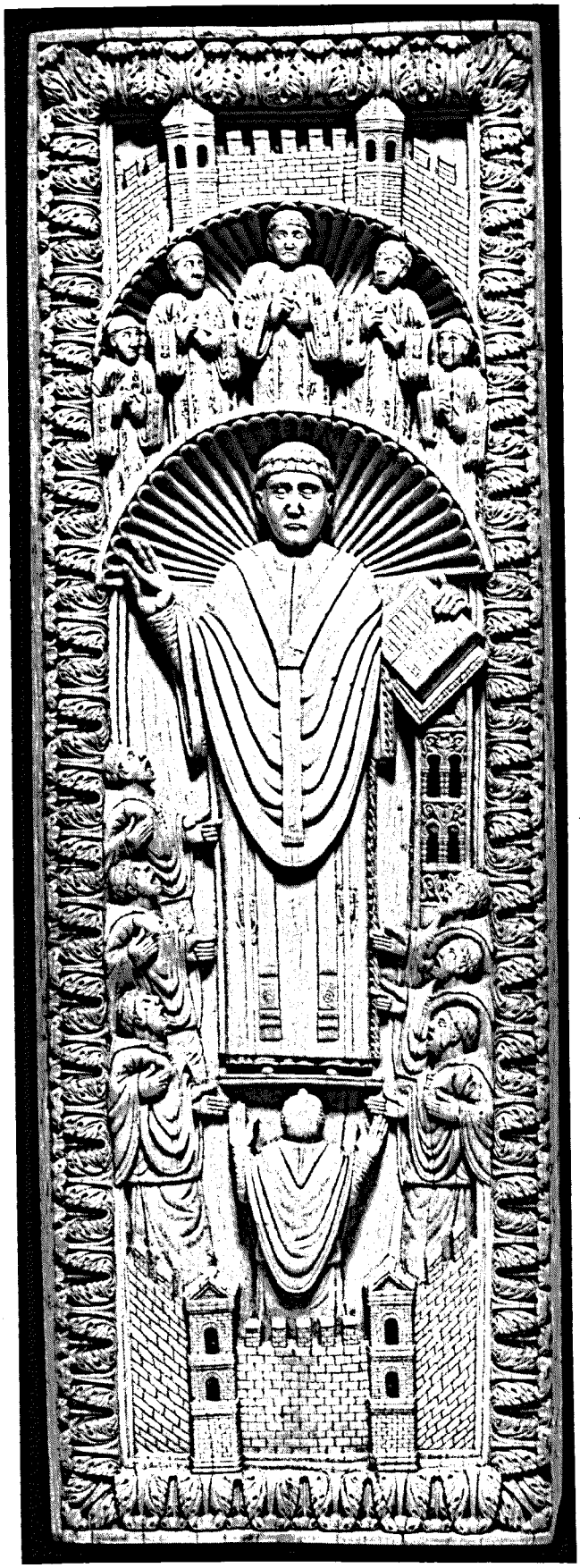
Inclinabo inparabolam aurem meam
aperiam inpsalterio propositionem meam
Cur timebo indie mala
iniquitas calcanei mei circumdabit me
Qui confidunt inuirtute sua
& inmultitudine diuitiarum suarum gloriabr̃
Frater non redemit redimet homo
non dabit deo placationem suam
Et pretium redemptionis animae suae
& laborabit in aeternum & uiuet adhuc in fine
Non uidebit interitum cum uiderit
sapientes morientes
simul insipiens & stultus peribunt
Et relinquent alienis diuitias suas
& sepulchra eorum domus illorum in aeternum
tabernacula eorum in generatione & progenie
uocauerunt nomina sua in terris suis
Et homo cum in honore esset non intellexit
comparatus est iumentis insipientibus
& similis factus est illis

14 Psalm 48, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Biblia fol. 23, written and illustrated at St Germain des Prés *ca* 820.

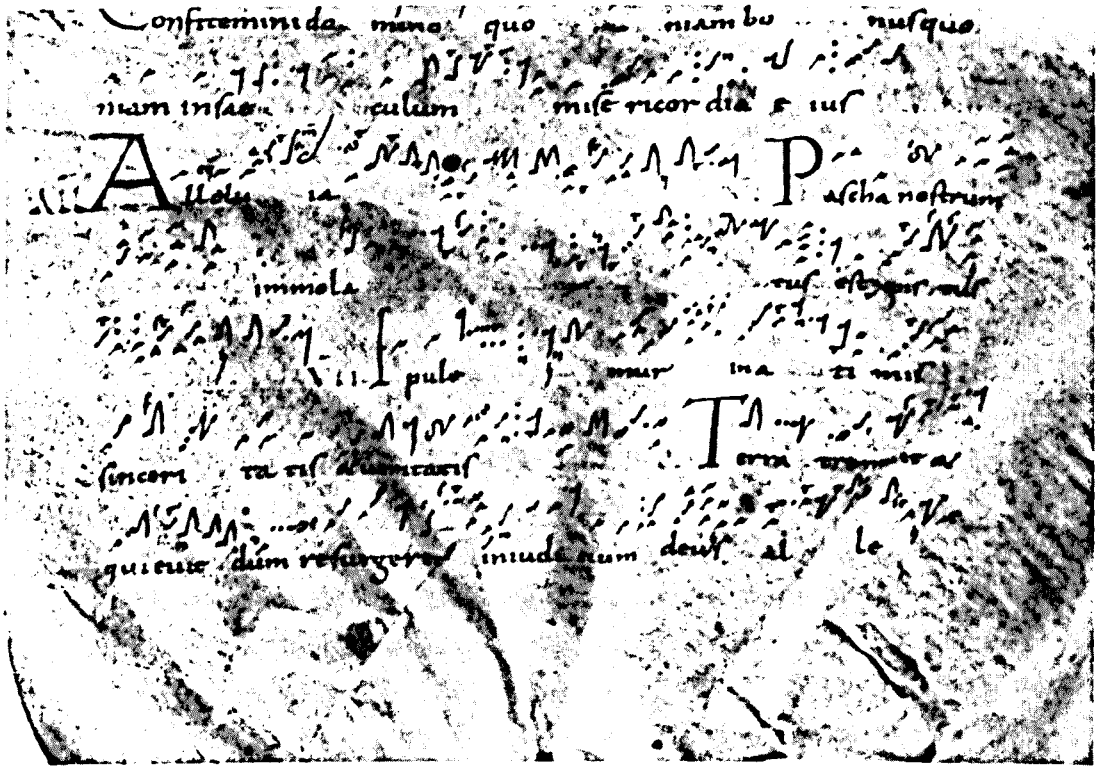
15 Douce Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 59, written and illustrated at Rheims, s.ix^2.



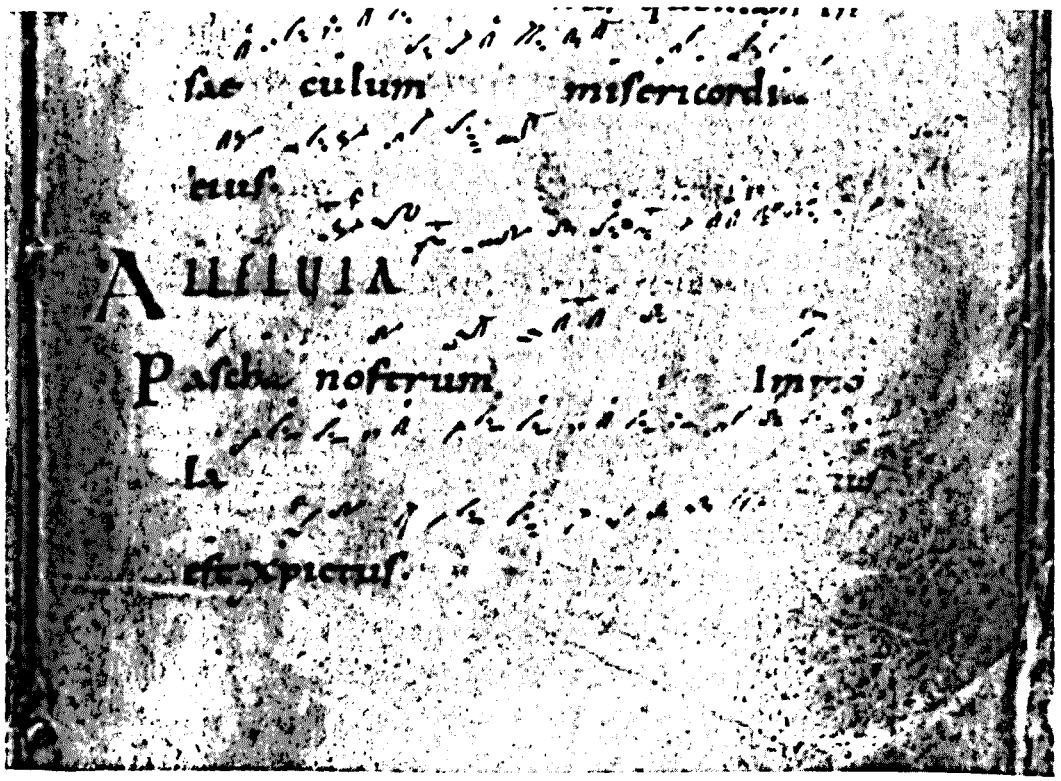
16 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum M.12/1904 (detail).



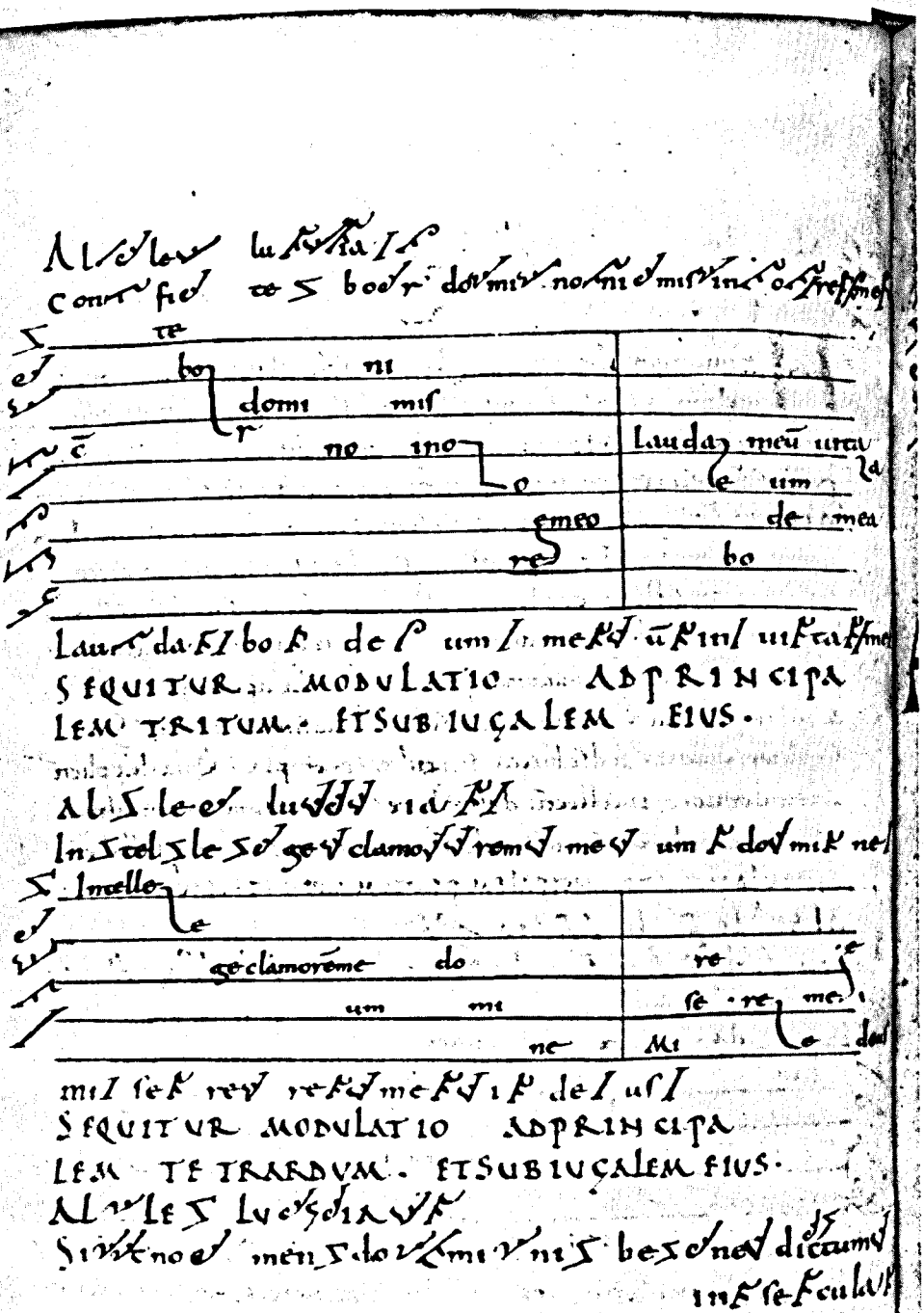
17 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum M.12/1904.



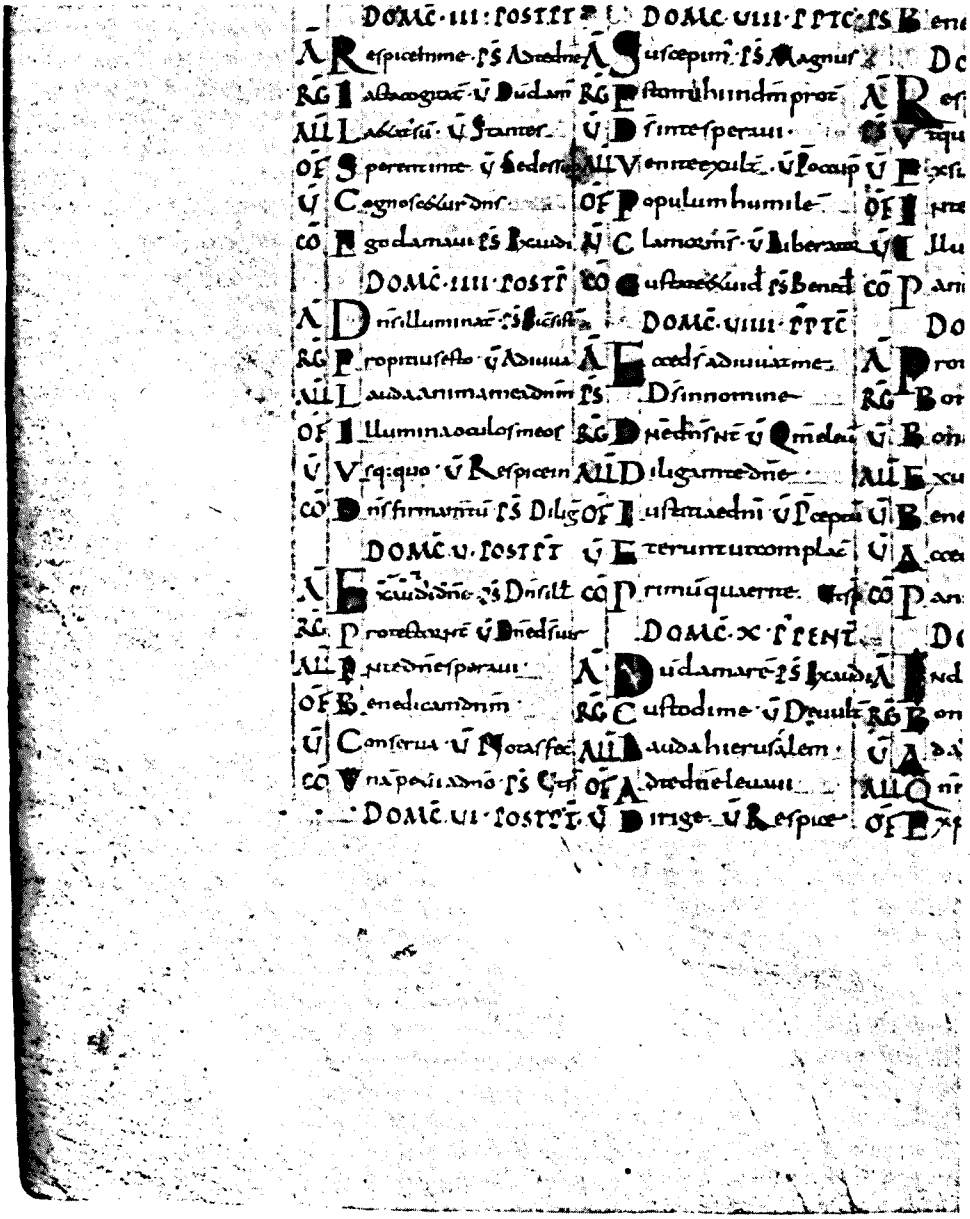
18 French notation, Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 239, fol. 52r (detail).



19 St Gall notation, St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 359, fol. 107r (detail).



20 Diagram from the *Musica enchiriadis*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 260, fol. 6r.



21 *Incipits* of mass chants, BN lat. 2291, fol. 14v (detail), written at St Amand, s.ix$^{3/4}$.

guishing between 'the house of the king' and 'a royal house': 'Even if the king is dead, the kingdom has remained.'[161] The appeal to public laws may have made sense to an Italian audience. North of the Alps the 'transpersonal idea' needed another anchorage. But it was not yet associated with nationhood. Conrad's *regnum* consisted of several *regna*, and its 'archthrone' was at Aachen. Wipo quoted a saying: 'The saddle of Conrad has the stirrup of Charles.' The tendency of those whom Wipo called the 'Latin Franks' to monopolise the label 'Frankish' did not provoke Wipo to seek a new label for Conrad's kingdom.[162] Kings were, as ever, conservative in their titulature. But later in the eleventh century the term *regnum teutonicorum* appeared more often in annalists' work. Significantly, it suggests language as a defining characteristic. It had first been used by Italians, apparently to express hostility to 'foreign' rule. Later it could express Gregorians' determination to confine the Salian kings north of the Alps. German historians, eager to find the origins of Germany, have taken it as evidence of nascent national consciousness on the part of the 'German' aristocracy, noting that it is used by the same writers who seem convinced that 'responsibility for the realm is borne not by the king alone but by the magnates along with the king'.[163] The conviction itself was not new: gentile identities were giving ground before a sense of the realm as a territory, but that too continued Carolingian political traditions.

Again as in Charlemagne's time, the hegemonial character of Ottonian kingship evoked a revived Rome-free idea of empire. According to Widukind, Henry I was an 'emperor of many peoples', while Otto I was acclaimed emperor after his victory at the Lechfeld (his later coronation by the pope was unmentioned by Widukind).[164] At Mainz *ca* 960 clergy copied out an imperial consecration-rite entirely derived from royal *ordines* (hence including the prayer *Prospice*): an imperial realm was an empire *secundum occidentales*.[165] Then Otto followed Charlemagne in extending his authority into Italy. This brought him to Rome, where Otto, like Charlemagne, was crowned by the pope. But the Ottonians' empire became more firmly Rome-bound than Charlemagne's. Bishop Liutprand of Cremona saw Otto in the line of Constantine and Justinian, appointed by God to establish peace in this world. Returning from an embassy to Constantinople in 968, Liutprand denounced the ritual technology of the 'Greeks' as empty form: the substance of true Roman emperorship now lay in

[161] Ibid., c. 7, p. 30: '"Si rex periit, regnum remansit ... Aedes publicae fuerant, non privatae."' 'Transpersonal idea': H. Beumann, 'Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen', in *Das Königtum*, Vorträge und Forschungen 3 (Sigmaringen, 1956) pp. 185–244. The idea was evidently not shared by the Pavians.

[162] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. H. Bresslau. MGH SRG LXI (Hanover, 1915), cc. 1, 6, pp. 12, 28–9 (trans., Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, pp. 60, 72).

[163] E. Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum* (Leipzig, 1970) pp. 145–327; H. Keller, 'Reichsstruktur und Herrschaftsauffassung in ottonisch-fränkischer Zeit', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982), pp. 74–128 at p. 124.

[164] Widukind, *Rerum gestarum saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. P. Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, MGH SRG LX (Hanover, 1935), I, cc. 25, 39, pp. 33, 50; III, c. 49, p. 109.

[165] *Ordines coronationis Imperialis*, ed. R. Elze, MGH Fontes IX (Hanover, 1960) pp. 3–6: 'Benedictio ad ordinandum imperatorem secundum occidentales'. *Prospice* here, p. 4, and many subsequent appearances in imperial *ordines*.

the west.[166] Otto, legislating in Italy 'as a holy emperor' (*ut imperator sanctus*) gave colour to Liutprand's claim.[167] In the *Ottonianum*, he confirmed the privileges of the Roman Church under his imperial protectorship.

Otto's grandson Otto III, while using these themes, promoted a strikingly original conception of 'the renewal of the Roman Empire'.[168] His palace and court, based in Rome, were designed to replicate and supersede those of Constantinople. He created a rival version of the Byzantine family of kings:[169] he sent a crown to King Stephen of Hungary; according to Polish tradition a century later, he made the Polish duke Boleslaw 'brother and co-operator of the empire', briefly taking the imperial crown from his own head and placing it on Boleslaw's 'as a pledge of their friendship', and giving him 'instead of a triumphal standard, a nail from the cross of the Lord'.[170] The Poles could conceive of their land as autonomous within the *imperium christianum*. The language of brotherhood was appropriate for an emperor who called himself, as St Paul had done, 'the slave of Jesus Christ'. Otto transposed political and religious universalism. In his legislation he evoked Justinian.[171] Denouncing the Donation of Constantine as the product of papal arrogance,[172] Otto 'slave of the Apostles' stole the clothes of papal humility. Otto died young and his successor Henry II preferred to stay north of the Alps. But Otto's imperial vision never entirely faded. His successors perpetuated it in their symbols of state. Henry II's mantle, still to be seen at Bamberg, is embroidered with the stars of heaven in imitation of Byzantine imperial claims to cosmic authority.[173] More importantly, Otto had forged the bond between the *regnum* and the empire so strongly that it would not be broken even by rulers like Henry II with little interest in a Roman power-base. Conrad I, once elected king, was already an emperor-elect and the east Franish realm only one of the *regna* he would rule. His son Henry III immediately on Conrad's death took the title, no longer of 'king of the Franks' but 'king of the Romans'. When, later, there was a German kingdom, its ruler was never officially entitled 'king of the Germans'. German kingship had become inseparable from Roman emperorship.[174]

[166] Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana*, in: *Liutprandi opera*, ed. J. Becker, MGH SRG XLI (Hanover 1915), cc. 9. 10, 28; Eng. trans., F. A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London, 1930) pp. 240–1, 251.

[167] Werner, 'L'Empire carolingien et le saint empire', pp. 160–1.

[168] *Renovatio imperii romanorum: Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, ed. P. E. Schramm and F. Mütherich 2nd edn (Munich, 1983), plate 101b and p. 199.

[169] See D. Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought', in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 51–82 at pp. 57–8.

[170] Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica et gesta ducum siue principum polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczynski, Monumenta poloniae historica, Nova series II. ii (Cracow, 1952), I, c. 6, pp. 19–20; see also A. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 124–8.

[171] Werner, 'L'Empire carolingien', pp. 161–2.

[172] MGH Dip. regum et imperatorum germaniae II, no. 389, p. 819.

[173] Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale*, p. 163 and plate 130.

[174] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, pp. 413–14; see also Kern, *Gottesgnadentum*, pp. 97–8 and K. Leyser, 'The polemics of the papal revolution', in *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. B. Smalley (Oxford, 1965) pp. 42–65.

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